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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 9, September 1985

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5 December 1985

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

### VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 9, SEPTEMBER 1985

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## THE FORTY YEARS OF GROWTH OF OUR STATE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] In the history of revolutionary struggle, rarely has a nation faced, in the space of only several decades, the formidable challenges that the nation of Vietnam has.

Immediately after the August Revolution, the newly born people's administration faced a perilous situation. The country's economy was crippled. The national treasury was empty. The aftereffects of the famine caused by the Japanese and French imperialists, a famine that killed 2 million persons, weighed heavily upon the country. In addition, unprecedented flooding occurred. In the South, on the pretext of disarming the Japanese army, British forces arrived but actually helped the French colonialists take our country from us once again. In the North, some 200,000 Chiang Kai-shek troops arrived. Although their pretext was the same, their actual intentions were to wipe out our party, destroy the Viet Minh and help Vietnamese reactionaries topple the people's administration and establish a puppet government serving as their lackey.

As V.I. Lenin said, it was difficult enough to seize political power but even more difficult to maintain it. Our party, headed by the esteemed President Ho, quickly and wisely decided to mobilize the strength of the people of the entire country and build and strengthen our forces while employing clever tactics to effectively deal with foreign and domestic enemies. In the end, it guided the ship of Vietnam through the dangerous rapids. The revolutionary administration was maintained. Our people were ready to face new challenges.

The greatest challenges to our nation were the two wars of aggression waged by the French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, wars that lasted for 30 years.

After winning independence and freedom, our people had but one aspiration: to live in peace in order to build the country. However, the French colonialists were determined to take our country from us once again. To their challenge, President Ho Chi Minh confidently replied: "No!... The Vietnamese would rather die than lose their independence and freedom!"(1)

When the war of resistance against France began, the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy was truly lopsided, so much so that some persons depicted our effort as "a grasshopper fighting an elephant." However, within the space of 9 years, as a result of our line on waging a protracted war of resistance, a full-scale war of resistance fought by all the people and our line on building the country while waging the war of resistance, we turned our weaknesses into strengths and, in the end, the French colonialists were defeated and forced to sign the Geneva Accords in 1954.

Actually, our country should have been reunified in July 1956. However, the U.S. imperialists invaded and occupied the South. For years, our fellow countrymen in the South suffered at the hands of the American-puppet regime. In the face of this dire situation, the people of our entire country, united as one, accepted the challenge of the historic conflict with the U.S. imperialists. The North made every effort to advance to socialism and it became the great rear area of the South. The South fought the revolutionary war to liberate itself and protect the North. Bugged down in the South, the U.S. imperialists, enraged like a seriously wounded wild animal, carried out the extremely violent war of destruction against the North in a vain attempt to "bomb the North back to the Stone Age," prevent the North from supporting the revolution in the South and permanently partition our country.

However, as President Ho Chi Minh proclaimed:

"The war might last for 5, 10, 20 years or more. Hanoi, Haiphong and a number of municipalities and enterprises might be destroyed but the Vietnamese are determined not to be afraid! There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom. On the day of victory, our people will rebuild our country and make it grander and more beautiful!"(2)

After more than 20 years of brave and tenacious fighting under the leadership of the party, our people drove off the United States (1973) and brought down the puppets (1975). The country was totally liberated, the North and South were reunified and the entire country began advancing to socialism. The position and forces of the Vietnamese revolution increased greatly.

Actually, with this position and these forces, our people could have rapidly advanced to socialism and quickly achieved a life of comfort and happiness. However, immediately after the war and before the wounds had time to heal, our people had to deal with a new reactionary power--the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. This occurred because an independent, unified, prosperous and strong Vietnam is a major obstacle on the path of expansionism and aggression of those in Beijing whose mindset is dominated by big country chauvinism. A new challenge had arisen, a new determination emerged. Our people defeated the two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and are now winning victory over their border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage.

Forty years of stern challenges have proven that our nation possesses strong vitality, that our state is truly stable and strong.

Our state, which was born after the August Revolution and grew and matured in the flames of the long war, has completed its historic mission in each of the various stages of the revolution.

In the initial stage, our state performed the historic task of the dictatorship of workers and peasants. The salient achievement recorded during this stage was the successful completion of two related revolutionary campaigns that influenced and stimulated one another: national liberation and agrarian reform. The two campaigns did not occur simultaneously because it was only by defeating the nation's most powerful and aggressive enemy, the country-robbing imperialists, that we could win national independence and distribute land to the tiller. Therefore, our state concentrated its efforts on mobilizing manpower and materiel to support the war of resistance with the aim of defeating the imperialists and toppling the lackeys. At the same time, it implemented democratic freedoms; built the revolutionary army, built and developed the economy; built and developed a national and democratic culture and system of education; established equality between men and women and equality among the various nationalities; established friendly relations with foreign countries; and supported the revolutionary struggle of the working class and people of the world. The agrarian revolution was carried out by our state in three steps: confiscating cropland from the imperialists and Vietnamese traitors, redistributing this land to poor peasants and distributing village-owned rice fields in a reasonable manner; reducing land rents, reducing interest rates and postponing or cancelling debts to landowners; and carrying out agrarian reform by abolishing feudal ownership of cropland, confiscating and requisitioning cropland of the landowner class and distributing it to peasants who had no cropland or lacked cropland.

In the socialist revolution (which began in the North in 1954 and nationwide in 1975), our state has been performing the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the one hand, the state has taken determined steps to establish a dictatorship over the enemies of the people, defeat the spy war, the psychological war and the subversive plots of the imperialists and their lackeys, suppress counter-revolutionaries, maintain security and order and provide for the defense of the nation. On the other hand, the state has upheld the right of collective ownership of the people and made it possible for the people to effectively participate in the management of the state.

To fulfill the proletarian dictatorship's main functions of thoroughly abolishing the exploitation of man by man, establishing the new production relations and building the new, socialist society, our state has been carrying out socialist industrialization, considering it to be the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution.

The objective of the production relations revolution is to establish the right of the working people to be the collective owners of the primary means of production as well as exercise collective ownership in production and distribution. Through a process of socialist transformation, we have now virtually abolished the private ownership of means of production throughout

the country, virtually abolished oppression and exploitation and made the working people the true masters of the country. In the North, socialist ownership has been firmly established under two forms: national ownership and collective ownership. In the South, since 1975, the state has nationalized the large economic units of capitalism, of traitors and persons who fled to foreign countries; carried out the transformation of private, capitalist industry, mainly by establishing joint public-private corporations; abolished capitalist commerce and developed state-operated and cooperative commerce. As of 1984, the socialist segment of the economy accounted for more 56 percent of national income and more than 60 percent of the gross social product nationwide. The socialist transformation of agriculture in the South will be completed in 1985. Today, the cooperatives in the North account for 97 percent of farm household and more than 90 percent of cropland; the production collectives and cooperatives in the South account for 65 percent of farm households and 59.6 percent of cropland.

In view of our countries circumstances, the scientific-technological revolution occupies a position of key importance in that it effectively supports the building of the material-technical bases of socialism. In this area, our state has achieved many important results. As a result of applying scientific and technological achievements, the state has been able to make increasingly effective use of the existing units in the North and the units that we took over intact in the South. The state has invested and is continuing to invest in the construction of many new, modern projects. Under the second 5-year plan (1976-1980), the state invested in the construction of 200 projects, included among which are such major projects as the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Thang Long Bridge, the Pha Rung Shipyard, the Dau Tieng water conservancy site... The state's policy for 1981-1985 has been to focus investments on achieving the major targets that have been set regarding electric power production, coal production, agriculture and exports. Additional key projects have come into existence, such as the Tri An Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Bim Son Cement Plant, the Hoang Thach Cement Plant, the Vinh Phu Paper Mill, the Vang Danh, Khe Tam and Cao Son mines... The Vung Tau-Con Dao petroleum-natural gas facility is preparing for start-up operations.

Our state, acting on the basis of the country's specific conditions, has been carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution at the same time as the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution. Today, Marxist-Leninist ideology occupies the dominant position within our society. The new, socialist culture has made significant gains. The new, socialist man is being molded. Our people have recorded outstanding achievements in education and public health. Under the French, 95 percent of the population was illiterate and the entire country had only one college with an enrollment of 515 students. Today, more than 12 million persons in our country are attending school, one of every five citizens. The country now has 124 colleges and academies with an enrollment of 130,000. The public health network has been expanded to the entire country and attention has been given to the protection of mothers and children. In 1943, the entire country had only 524 doctors and surgeons; today, there are more than 55,000.

Over the past 40 years, our state has clearly shown itself to be a truly revolutionary state, a state of, by and for the people. It has been an effective tool supporting the cause of national liberation and the cause of reunification as well as the present day causes of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

In the new stage of the revolution, our state faces new challenges. The imperialists and the expansionists and hegemonists are still opposing and attacking our country. Building socialism within a country that has a backward economy, an economy within which small-scale production predominates, in a country that has experienced many years of war, such as our country, involves very many difficulties, difficulties that take time to overcome. Meanwhile, we must make every possible effort to meet the four socio-economic targets set by the 5th Party Congress.

In attempting to meet these targets, we have certain advantages in our favor. They are: the correct line of the party; the strength of the people, which has been tempered in 40 years of challenges; the heroic and ever victorious people's army; our natural resources and the potentials lying in our arable land, labor, sectors and trades that have yet to be developed; the material-technical bases that have been built; the experience of the successes and failures in socialist construction; and our fraternal, cooperative relations with the socialist countries, most importantly with the great Soviet Union and with fraternal Laos and Cambodia.

To meet these targets, our state must be strengthened in every respect. In view of the fact that our state derives its strength from the strength of the people, strengthening the socialist state requires, above everything else, that we uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people better with each passing day so that they truly participate in the work of the state. As General Secretary Le Duan said, the system of collective ownership is both the moving force behind and the objective of the socialist revolution, is the goal and the daily action of the masses. The exercise of collective ownership must begin with being the masters of economic life. Owning the instruments of production, controlling production and distribution are the basic prerequisites to exercising ownership in the other fields.

It was precisely in this spirit that the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee adopted its resolution on taking determined steps to dismantle the management system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices based on national economic planning. The plenum decided to establish a policy of restructuring the price system and improving the wage system, considering these to be the breakthroughs of decisive significance that must be made in order to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and build an effective planning and management system with the aim of reorganizing the entire system of social production. The significance of this policy also lies in the fact that it establishes the right of the laborer, above everyone else, to decide what prices to pay and how his wages are spent, the aim of which is to encourage efficient production, implement the principle of distribution in

accordance with labor and harmoniously combine the various interests. This will also bolster the moving forces behind the revolution and generate a true movement of the masses to build socialism.

Therefore, the agencies of the state must redefine their functions, tasks, the organization of their apparatus and their cadre organization and take determined steps to restructure and reorganize organizations and elements that are not rational, eliminate unnecessary intermediary organizations, reduce the staff of the state apparatus and revise their cadre training programs, subject matter and plans, especially with regard to the training of economic leadership and management cadres, thereby insuring that a bold shift can be made to the new management system. It is necessary to uphold the role of the elected agencies in drafting legislation, deciding the major questions of the state and supervising the activities of administration agencies. Constant efforts must be made to solidify and strengthen the various levels of administration, including the village and subward levels, with the aim of insuring that these agencies are solid and strong, dynamic and effective.

Strengthening the socialist system of law is a pressing requirement in increasing the management effectiveness of the state. We must continue to codify the Constitution of our state. We must draft, amend and refine codes of law on maintaining national security and social order, insure the strict enforcement of the Criminal Code recently adopted by the National Assembly and attach importance to building the system of economic law. Our state must use all the power it has to maintain social discipline and effectively struggle against criminal behavior and social ills. A resolute attitude must be adopted toward preventing and eliminating actions that violate the right of collective ownership of the people, thoroughly suppressing counter-revolutionaries and punishing hoodlums, gangsters, speculators, black marketers and embezzlers. Inspection and control work must be intensified. Petitions and complaints filed by the people must be acted upon promptly. A greater effort must be made to propagandize and educate the people in the law. Living and working in accordance with the law must become the slogan of all the people.

State management agencies must improve their method of operation, must change and improve their style of work so that management activities are militant, dynamic, effective and practical in nature. They absolutely must not hold an arrogant, authoritarian attitude toward the people.

In order for our state to be strong, it is of decisive importance that the party's leadership of the state be strengthened. The various party committee echelons must not take over the work of state agencies; however, they must delve deeply into each specific field of activity, especially the economic field, in order to develop upon positive factors, correct mistakes, discover matters pertaining to policies, positions and measures that require revisions and amendments and, on the basis, develop and refine leadership methods in a manner consistent with the nature and characteristics of each sector and level. The party organization must be built and cadres must be assigned on the basis of the specific leadership requirements of each sector and level and in a manner consistent with the spirit of the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum. All party committees and all cadres and party members must set good

examples in complying with the Constitution and the law and must take the lead in the struggle to strengthen the socialist system of law.

We are confident that our state, which has gained extensive experience, has grown and matured in the struggle and the construction that have been waged and carried out over the past 40 years, will surely complete its historic mission in the new stage of the revolution and will make our country grander and more beautiful, as was the constant wish of President Ho Chi Minh.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi"[For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 69.
2. Ibid., p 282.

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HISTORICAL MATERIALS: SOME LETTERS SENT TO AMERICANS BY PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH IN 1945

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 7-10

[Text] Editorial Note: in World War II, Vietnam stood completely on the side of the allies fighting against fascism. To direct the thrust of the struggle toward the Japanese fascists, our party and the Viet Minh, headed by President Ho, adopted the policy of cooperating with the United States for the purpose of fighting Japan. Americans who were wounded in Vietnam while fighting the Japanese were rescued and assisted by us. In letters exchanged with Americans, President Ho skillfully won the cooperation of the United States while expressing the unshakeable determination of our people to fight for national independence.

After the conclusion of the war against Japan, Americans quickly forgot the contributions made by Vietnam in the common fight against the Japanese fascists. Involved in sinister plots against Vietnam, American authorities spurned the good will and friendship of Vietnam that were expressed by President Ho in his letters. They also ignored the warning expressed by President Ho in one of his letters: "We will keep fighting until we achieve what we deserve: national independence."

Everyone knows how this obstinate attitude on the part of U.S. authorities brought tragedy upon the United States in Vietnam.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Japanese fascism, we have made public a number of letters sent to Americans by President Ho Chi Minh in 1945 for examination by readers. Some of these letters were written by hand, others were typed by President Ho. All were written in English. We have translated them into Vietnamese.

Dear Mr. Bernard and Mr. Fenn,

I will be very much obliged to you of taking care of our boys. I wish they can learn radio and other things necessary in our common fight against the Japs.

I hope soon you will be able to visit us here in our base. It will be great!

Permit me to send my respect to General Chenault.

Best greetings from yours truly,

9 May

Hoo

[Translator's note: the above is not a translation of the original letter written by Ho Chi Minh. A photograph of the original letter, written in English, appears on page 9 of this issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN.]

Dear Mr. Fenn,

I want to write you a letter, a very long letter to thank you for your friendship. Unfortunately, I am not able to write much because I am not feeling well now (I am not very ill, don't worry!).

Mr. Tam will tell you what I want to say. If you see Messieurs Bonard, Vincent, Reiss, Carlson (of the Information Agency) and our other friends, give them my best regards.

Tam told me that you will be coming here. We have prepared the warmest of welcomes for you. Try to come as soon as possible.

I wish you good health and good luck.

Affectionately yours,

21 July 1945

C.M. Hoo

Dear Mr. Fenn,

Mr. T. and an assistant or second of his are very much in accord. We have become one large family. I hope that you will soon come to visit us.

Will you please deliver this letter to my friend Mr. Sung Minh Fang at the Indochina Cafe. Ten or 12 days later, he will give you a package containing an Ally flag. I would be very much obliged to you if you would send this package to me by the quickest route possible.

My greetings to you, dear old man, Mr. Bernard and all our close friends.

I wish you good health and good luck.

Affectionately yours,

Hoo

9 June 1945

Dear Mr. Tam,

The war has ended. Everything has changed, but our friendship will last forever, will never change.

As you know, we gained nothing from the victory. To win our share, we must continue to fight hard. In actuality, we have been fighting and will keep fighting until we achieve what we deserve: national independence.

I only regret that our American friends must leave so soon and, with their parting, relations between us will become difficult to maintain. We will never forget you. Don't forget us! Let us look forward to the beautiful day when we meet again.

One thousand apologies: the person who was given the responsibility of buying the bracelets for you fell sick and assigned the task to a second person. This person was then transferred to another job far from Hanoi. He told a third person to make the purchase. This person did not do as you wanted and only bought a few of the total number you need. All together they cost 440 dong!

I am sending to you the letters they sent to me and the balance, 2,560 dong.

I wish you good health and good luck. It is also my wish for you that you soon take a good wife.

Affectionately yours,

C.M. Hoo

August 1945

Dear Mr. Fenn,

The war has ended. This is good for everyone. I only regret that all of our American friends are about to leave us. And, their departure from this region will mean that relations between you and us will be more difficult to maintain.

The war has ended in victory. We small and dependent countries have not shared at all in this victory, except for sharing in a very, very small portion of the victory of freedom and democracy. If we want our full share, we must keep fighting. I trust that your sympathy and the sympathy of the great American people will always be with us.

I also firmly believe that we will, sooner or later, achieve our goal because it is a just cause. And, our country will be independent. I look forward to that happy day when we meet with you and our other American friends either here in Indochina or in the United States.

I wish you good luck and good health.

C.M. Hoo

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FOR A STRONG AND PROSPEROUS SOCIALIST VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 11-14

[Speech by Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, during the formal ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day, 2 September, at Ba Dinh Square]

[Text] Dear fellow countrymen and soldiers,

Dear comrades and friends,

Dear international guests,

Today, we have come together at Ba Dinh Square, where, 40 years ago, following the brilliant victory of the general uprising in August 1945, President Ho Chi Minh read the Declaration of Independence and proclaimed to his fellow countrymen and the people of the world the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia.

That historic declaration confirmed:

"Vietnam has the right to be free and independent and has, in fact, become a free and independent country. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to use the full measure of their spirit and forces, to sacrifice their lives and property to safeguard this freedom and independence."

During the past 40 years, under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party founded and educated by the great President Ho Chi Minh, our people have taken strong strides into the new era ushered in by the August Revolution: the era of independence, freedom and socialism. All our people have kept their oath of independence, fought bravely, overcome every adversity and challenge, won exceedingly glorious victories, developed upon the gains of the August Revolution and defended and built their young republic.

Standing shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the two fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula, our people won victory over two cruel wars of aggression waged by Western imperialist powers, thereby thwarting the plan of the French colonialists to reimpose their rule in our country and defeating the insane ambition of U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of imperialism and

international gendarme, to crush our nation and deliver a decisive counter blow in a vain attempt to stop and push back the tides of revolution of our times.

Our people's two sacred wars of resistance for national salvation are symbolic of the fight against imperialism, against colonialism, both old-style and new, since World War II. They have been an important part of the struggle by the forces of revolution and progress in the new age and have helped to intensify changes in the overall revolutionary situation in the world that have furthered the interests of peace, national independence and socialism.

Following those brilliant victories, our people then had to contend with the powers of expansionism and hegemony and their lackey clique and defend the border of the fatherland. At the same time, we have fulfilled our obligation to assist the Lao and the Cambodians in completing the cause of liberating and defending their countries and have strengthened the alliance of the three fraternal countries, countries that are advancing together down the socialist path.

Since the liberation of the South and the reunification of the country, the socialist revolution has won victories of very important strategic significance throughout our country.

The serious wounds of the war have been healed. The national economy has been restored and, in a number of areas, been developed. The important material-technical bases of socialism have been and are being built. The exploitation of man by man has virtually been abolished. Public ownership of the means of production has been established within a large portion of the economy. The right of collective ownership of the working people has constantly been upheld and strengthened. Development in the fields of culture, education and public health has been rapid. National defense and security have been maintained. The material and cultural lives of the people, although many difficulties are still being faced, are being stabilized and gradually improved.

The past 40 years have been a period of brilliant feats of arms in combat, a period of rapid development unprecedented in our nation's long history.

This great achievement has been the result of the tenacious and brave struggle waged by many generations of Vietnamese, most immediately the result of the fight filled with hardships and sacrifices that has been fought by the compatriots and soldiers of our entire country for more than one-half century under the glorious banner of the party. The victories won by our people, victories of historic and epochal significance, have been closely tied to the wholehearted and valuable assistance provided by the fraternal socialist countries, by the international working class and communist movement, by freedom loving nations and progressive mankind.

Here, at this solemn ceremony, on behalf of the party and state, I wholeheartedly praise the unparalleled revolutionary heroism of our people and revolutionary armed forces, wholeheartedly praise the immortal contributions made by the heroes, war dead, compatriots and comrades who bravely fought and died for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for the ideal of

socialism, for the sake of their sacred national duty and noble international obligation.

Allow me to extend our people's greetings of solidarity and profound affection and devotion to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia, our comrades in arms with whom we have shared joys and sorrows, have won great victories for the common revolutionary cause of the three countries of Indochina.

Allow me to express our sincere and deep gratitude for the strong support and tremendous assistance of the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of V.I. Lenin, of the other fraternal socialist countries, of the communist and worker parties, friendly nations, peace and justice loving nations and the progressive people of the world.

Dear comrades and friends,

The victorious fight that we have waged over the past 40 years has given our nation a new stature. Vietnam has become an independent and unified nation. Ours is a victorious, heroic nation. Our party, the Vietnam Communist Party, is a great Marxist-Leninist party. Our people possess all they need by way of spirit and material forces to firmly protect each gain that has been made by the revolution and successfully build a prosperous and strong socialist Vietnam.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the state of the working people. The working people exercising collective ownership, this is the essence of socialism in our country. In the new period, the full measure of the skills and intelligence of the people must be focused on simultaneously carrying out and coordinating the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution, and on gradually building the system of socialist collective ownership in order to insure that each laborer, each collective and each individual is the master politically, economically, culturally and socially, is the master of everything from production to distribution and circulation, is the master throughout the country, within the locality and at the basic unit and becomes more the master of society, nature and himself with each passing day.

We must intensify the effort to reorganize production with the aim of developing the potentials that lie in our labor, arable land and other natural resources well; consider agriculture to be the front of foremost importance in the immediate future, with the center of agriculture being the production of grain and food products; and advance agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production. We must steadily proceed with socialist industrialization, the central task throughout the period of transition, and endeavor to build key, heavy industrial projects on schedule. We must gradually build a rational economic structure, the nucleus of which is a modern, nationwide industrial-agricultural structure. Every effort must be made to build the districts and use the district as the base for establishing the new division of labor, for organizing production and life. Determined steps must be taken to change and improve economic management, dismantle bureaucracy and subsidization and shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices on the basis of making the plan the center of

operations. We must implement a dynamic mechanism, one that permits us to mobilize all resources and orient every activity toward the effort to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency.

"The party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages"--this is the master mechanism of our system. We must utilize the combined strength of the system of collective ownership on all levels and within all sectors in order to develop the economy, build the culture, mold the new man, strengthen the national defense and security systems and organize and support the life of the people.

Acting with a thorough understanding of the party's correct revolutionary line and tapping the creative skills of the people and the brave fighting spirit of the army, we are successfully carrying out the two strategic tasks and meeting the targets of the revolution set by the 5th Congress of the Party and applying the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, most recently the resolution of the 8th Plenum, in everyday life. Let us make even greater efforts to successfully implement the 1985 state plan, thereby celebrating, in a worthy way, the upcoming 6th Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party and creating favorable conditions for bringing to our country's revolution a new period of development.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, I appeal to all compatriots and soldiers, to the cadres of all levels and sectors to uphold the glorious revolutionary traditions of our nation and make every effort to work hard and fight bravely for a strong and prosperous socialist Vietnam, thereby making increasingly large contributions to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

Our party, government and people will do everything they can to strengthen the special alliance between our country and Laos and Cambodia, to raise the level of comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. These constitute an exceedingly important guarantee of victory by our people in their work of building and defending the fatherland.

We are totally united with the fraternal socialist countries and progressive mankind in the struggle to prevent and remove the threat of nuclear destruction posed by the insane arms race policy of the bellicose imperialists and protect peace and life on our planet. Our people wholeheartedly welcome the Soviet Union's unilateral cessation of all nuclear testing and its demand that the United States do the same.

Together with other nations of Asia and the Pacific, we are determined to struggle to defeat the plans of Washington and its allies to turn this vast region into a site of military and political confrontation with the socialist countries and all independence and freedom loving countries within the region. We believe that Asia and the Pacific can and must become a region of peace.

We have high regard for the tremendous role being played by the Non-aligned Movement, chaired by India, in the struggle against imperialism for peace, national independence and a new world economic order. We especially want to



express our militant solidarity with fraternal Cuba and our strong support for the struggle for independence and freedom of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Namibia, Palestine, Lebanon and the other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As we have in the past, we continue to consistently pursue a policy of peace and friendship among nations. Our policy toward neighboring countries and the region of Southeast Asia is that we end the state of confrontation that exists and enter into negotiations with the aim of resolving the issues in dispute. It is our hope that the good will proposals advanced by the countries of Indochina will be met with a positive response by the concerned parties.

Ours is the age of the victory of peace, national independence and socialism. No act of aggression or intervention can avoid being punished. Anyone who goes against the trend of the times will surely be defeated.

At this historic square, the people of our nation of Vietnam once again strongly state their determination to protect the country with the full measure of their spirit and forces, a country for which generations fought and died to defend, and dedicate their energies and talents to making the country "grander and more beautiful" as was the wish of the great Uncle Ho and is the aspiration of all our people.

Compatriots and soldiers of the entire country, let us march bravely forward, millions as one, under the ever victorious banner of the party!

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## FORTY YEARS OF REVOLUTION: ITS OUTCOME AND PROSPECTS

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[Article by Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] The successful completion of the August Revolution in the fall of 1945 led to the founding of the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia. It was as much as 15 years before the revolution--from the founding of the communist party--that our people, led by President Ho Chi Minh, learned to combine their national genius with Marxism-Leninism--the quintessence of mankind--to incorporate national independence closely with socialism and the people's national democratic revolution with the socialist revolution, to associate patriotism with proletarian internationalism, and to accommodate the Vietnamese revolution with the world revolution. In the new era starting with the October Revolution, the significant guideline of the Vietnamese revolution and its outcome resemble those of the struggle of oppressed nations for the liberation of their people, society and mankind.

Following the August Revolution, our country became an historic point of intersection--the meeting place of the three revolutionary currents of our time and the place of confrontation between revolutionary and reactionary forces. One after another, the imperialists and then the expansionists invaded and sabotaged our country in hopes of foiling our national democratic revolution and our socialist undertaking. Our struggle began immediately after the Vietnamese nation came into existence and continues to this day.

The past 40 years account for only 1 percent of our national history. However, they were the 40 years of the Ho Chi Minh era and were the 40 most beautiful and momentous years, those in which our people were brought from darkness to sunlight, from slavery to freedom and from stateless people unknown to the world to staunch, anti-imperialist fighters admired by all progressive mankind and creative builders who, emerging from poverty and backwardness, are surging forward to build a bountiful and happy socialist life.

In harmony with the era of seething revolution in the world following the Soviet Union's victory over fascism, the past 40 years can be likened to a revolutionary epic of our nation, whose victories of historic and

international significance and whose worthy contributions to the revolutionary cause of the people in various countries show that the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are bound together in terms of both place and time--in a certain country as well as throughout the world--and that they are a just and inevitably victorious struggle. Over the past 40 years this struggle has developed the most beautiful elements of our nation's glorious background, brought about the existing pride worthy realities and opened up a bright prospect for socialism in our country in achieving the three major liberation goals of changing the unfortunate destiny of our nation, eliminating the state of sluggishness in society and correcting the state of self-indulgence and corruption of the people.

### Thirty Years of Resistance

The 9 years of anti-French resistance ended with the Dien Bien Phu victory, marking the collapse of old-style colonialism. More than 20 years of anti-U.S. resistance ended with the great victory of the Ho Chi Minh campaign, presaging the bankruptcy of neo-colonialism. Thirty years of the shining revolutionary heroism of "a chivalrous nation," as the great communist artist Picasso said, have clarified a truth of the era: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." Our people have fulfilled a great mission, which was clearly pointed out at the Havana world conference on culture in 1968: "The Vietnamese people's struggle is the vanguard, center and peak of the revolutionary struggle of the working people and oppressed nations of the world against U.S. imperialism. The fate of the world and the survival of culture and civilization on our planet are being decided on the battlefields of Vietnam. At stake in this struggle are freedom and human dignity. Vietnam's total victory is the victory of mankind." Our people are worthy of the confidence of friends on the five continents who have often spoken of Vietnam with sincere sympathy and admiration: "If we want to define courage, collective heroism, militant friendship and the great self-denial of nations struggling for their independence or defending their socialist gains, we only have to say the name 'Vietnam'"(Canadian writer Sydney Gordon). "It is no longer necessary to call the Vietnamese people heroes. This would be superfluous. Only the name 'Vietnam' is enough to depict bravery and heroism"(U.S. writer Peter Hammond). "Hope of the whole world, including prospects for the future of the United States, lie in the Vietnamese people's victory"(U.S. writer Philip Bonosky).

Under our party's leadership, our entire nation rose up in resistance with all its strength stemming from the depths of history and the revolutionary character of the era. We have waged great people's wars, mobilized the courage, intelligence and creativity of our people; won the sympathy, support and assistance of the world's peoples, including those of France and the United States; and combined all measures and forms of struggle on the political, military and diplomatic fronts. In our wars, we have been able to calculate and use optimally our abilities to fight the enemies of yesterday and today, the links between our achievements and confidence in the future and the strength of the nation and era. Internally, we mobilized all the people and utilized even the natural conditions of our country, while externally we mobilized all those who opposed the aggression against Vietnam and even capitalized on the contradictions within the enemy ranks. We might be said to

have waged war in a very appropriate manner, thus winning victories while holding our sacrifices and losses to the minimum. Our people, determined to fight and knowing how to win, always took the initiative. The more they fought, the stronger they became to win victory after victory until they achieved total victory and, while in this process, succeeded in developing powerful armed forces, an all-people national defense and the Vietnamese people's art of war.

The three decades of anti-imperialist war were a test to control, screen and forge a process of research, knowledge and action. It has fostered the noble qualities for our people and given valuable experience to the revolution in our country. The resistance struggles have gradually raised the people's level of mastery in close connection with the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country and the socialist revolution in the northern part of our country. This is an important asset for building the laboring people's socialist collective mastery in the present revolutionary stage.

#### Ten Years of Socialist Revolution Throughout the Country

The past 10 years, since our people won total independence and our country was unified and began to advance to socialism, has been a period of great trial in building and defending the socialist fatherland.

#### Victories and Achievements

No sooner had we achieved complete victory in the war of resistance against the Americans than the expansionist-hegemonist forces and their henchmen adopted a policy of hostility toward our country. They waged wars of aggression on our southern and northern borders in the hope of annexing our country and the rest of Indochina so as to pave the way for an advance to Southeast Asia. Faced with a new enemy and a new situation, the revolutionary heroism of our people and armed forces has again flared up luminously among thousands of examples of intelligent and courageous combat activities. Youths of today's generation have proven that they are worthy of their fathers and brothers during the wars of resistance against the French and Americans. The people's war for national defense has attested to our invincible strength, while the Vietnamese socialist revolution has manifested our strongest ever position and influence. Our victories have made it possible for us to frustrate all schemes of the expansionists and their henchmen, firmly defend our borders, contribute to the rebirth and growth of the Cambodian people, strengthen the special relationship and solidarity with the two fraternal neighboring countries, form the bloc of the three socialist countries on the Indochinese peninsula and create an unprecedentedly favorable situation for revolution in this region. Clearly realizing that defending the socialist fatherland is one of the two long-term strategic tasks of our revolution at present, our armed forces and people are constantly heightening vigilance and continuing to fight to defeat the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage. Meanwhile, we are ready to normalize relations with China, and we are persisting in following this direction because we always attach great importance to the friendship between the two countries.

Advancing to socialism from an economy of prevailing small production after more than 30 years of destructive war and in the situation of frequent enemy threats and natural disasters is a terrible ordeal, which our nation never experienced in history. It is a new, difficult and complex enterprise, which seems never to have existed, or of which there has never been a typical example, in the world.

The 4th Party Congress in 1976 clearly pointed out the lines of socialist revolution and socialist economic construction in our country. The 5th Party Congress in 1982 indicated the major objectives and policies for the initial stage of the advance to socialism. In conjunction with the domestic revolutionary line, our party formulated a foreign policy, determining the attitude of our country toward the various countries, regions and major issues in today's world. These lines and policies have been proven to be comprehensively correct by realities. The success in setting forth a correct line for a period of history only a short time after the victorious anti-U.S. resistance struggle has demonstrated the ability of our party and people to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively and to see far and wide. It also testifies to the strong revolutionary will of our party and people.

To have a correct line promptly is a great and fundamental achievement guaranteeing the past and future victories of the socialist revolution.

The southern people living in harmony with the rest of the nation, the entire Vietnamese people enthusiastically advancing to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat being expanded nationwide, the working people's collective mastery being established and the SRV coming into being: all these important events have taken place expeditiously and as a matter of course, stemming from the inevitable development of our country's history and revolution.

Transforming the entire southern Vietnam, which lived for 100 years under colonialism and neo-colonialism and which just experienced 30 years of war, and introducing socialism into all aspects of social life and into each family represented both a radical change of the viewpoint and way of life of tens of millions of people and a happy convergence of the trend of history, the national traditions and the course of the revolution. This was an extremely extensive transformation which the international reactionary forces thought could never have proceeded smoothly and rapidly with the working people's zealous participation, as has actually happened in Ho Chi Minh City and other localities in southern Vietnam. To date, far-reaching changes have taken place in all domains--political, ideological, economic, cultural and social--and many southern provinces and cities have shown their dynamism and creativity in the socialist revolution and have contributed considerable good experience to the entire country. Transforming the South has been a miraculous achievement of socialism in Vietnam over the past 10 years.

Throughout the country, the exploitative classes have been basically abolished; the majority of peasants and other working people have taken to the road of collective production and the socialist production relations are continuing to be established and consolidated. The wounds of war have been healed; the economy has been rehabilitated; the material and technical bases have been further strengthened; production, especially food production, has

made tangible progress. Science and technology, education, training culture and social welfare have developed rapidly and welcome changes in viewpoints have been made in recent years. Science and technology have strived to achieve an integration among different sectors and to exert their effect on the formulation of policies and plans as well as the adoption and implementation of progressive technical measures in each establishment. The training of the contingents of workers and cadres has advanced along the line of general technical and vocational training. The cultural, public health, sports and physical education services have been coordinated more closely with economic activities and have played a better role in stimulating economic development. Public order and social safety have improved; political security of the regime and national defense have been firmly insured. National industrialization has made progress, though this progress is still limited and negligible. The most essential needs of the working people's material and cultural life have been satisfied. In many rural areas, the people's standard of living has been improved despite the fact that the population has increased by almost 12 million as a result of still unsatisfactory family planning. On the basis of the common progress of the entire country, there has emerged an increasing number of outstanding establishments, localities and sectors which have developed creative and highly effective working methods.

In external relations, we have broadened our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, gradually achieved integration in many domains with Laos and Cambodia, become an official member of CEMA and participated in the division of labor and mutual assistance among the socialist countries. We have always taken the initiative and taken firm steps in defeating the schemes of the expansionists, the imperialists and the international reactionary forces; in seeking a correct political solution to the Cambodia issue; and in contributing to building Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, friendship and cooperation. We have developed fine relations with the non-aligned countries, especially the Republic of India and have made positive contributions to the growth of the Non-aligned Movement. We have established relations with more than 100 countries and many international organizations and have done our best to fulfill our obligations in the struggle for world peace and for friendship and cooperation among nations. In international relations, the party's and state's correct diplomatic line has been flexibly applied with many initiatives taken to suit each region, each country, each issue and each situation and has recorded strategically significant successes, thereby contributing to the achievements of the socialist revolution.

The results obtained in each of these domains are not separate achievements; they are linked with one another to constitute a great general success of the revolution in our country over the past 10 years and represent the main characteristic of the present actual socio-economic situation.

In any country, the period of transition to socialism is a period of lasting revolution, far-reaching changes, bitter struggles, tense situations and great difficulties. In our country, the period of transition, still in its initial stage, was marked by untold hardships and complexities characterized by fierce tests of strength between us and the enemy and by protracted struggles between the good and the bad, the new and the old, the right and the wrong. It imposed countless burdens on the shoulders of people who had just emerged from

a war and still had to grope in a new struggle and in the face of new demands. But, overcoming all trials, we have stood firm, gradually grown up and moved forward. Generally speaking, our gains are great and basic. What we have gained are our party, our people, our regime and our socialist revolutionary cause.

Our international friends and all objective observers in the world have judged--and even our enemies have had to acknowledge--that we are still the victors and standing firm. All the enemies' tricks aimed at invading, sabotaging, bleeding, encircling and slandering our country as well as causing rebellions against it have failed.

#### Shortcomings and Stumblings

The general picture of our country's reality still contains dark blots which we must fully and clearly realize. We have failed to do many things we could have done, have developed shortcomings which could have been avoided, have spread and aggravated maladies which could have been cured earlier and have allowed the erosion of some achievements painstakingly recorded during the war of resistance.

Why is it that we were able to formulate a correct line at an early date but we still committed many shortcomings and mistakes in concretizing, institutionalizing, applying and implementing it? Why is it that the creative policies concerning the development of the laboring people's right to collective mastery; the simultaneous carrying out of the three revolutions; the building of a rational economic structure; the renovation of the managerial mechanism; the promotion of the role of ideological, cultural, organizational and cadre work; and the application of the general mechanism of the party's leadership, the people's mastery and the state's management were slow in being introduced into life, were not carried out at all or, worse still, were at times incorrectly implemented in some places?

During the previous analyses, we found the following causes: failure to firmly grasp the rule governing the advance from small production to socialism; failure to reach an identity of view with and to fully understand the party's lines; failure to accurately assess the situation and to correctly and promptly define the objectives and tasks for the initial stage as well as for each 5-year plan of that stage; lack of capability for realistic organization, especially in the economic field; inadequate sharpness and flexibility in guidance and supervision, lack of a sense of organization and discipline; and the decline in quality of a number of party cadres and members.

To trace the line for a fairly long historic period that covers the entire transition period to socialism requires full understanding of Marxism-Leninism and an overview of the evolution of history in both Vietnam and the world; and we have acquired the ability to do so in the course of our revolutionary struggle of more than half a century. Meanwhile, to concretize and implement that line, especially with regard to the development and management of the socialist economy, requires knowledge, capability and experience with which we are not yet equipped because we have gone through neither socialism nor

capitalism with its large-scale production system. Such knowledge, capability and experience must be acquired not only through observation and study trips to fraternal countries but also through realistic actions and our own efforts to conduct experiments, find solutions, discover and correct mistakes and make progress. We have, over the past 10 years, paid for this and have taken many steps toward maturity. Toward the end of 1985, our contingent of cadres from the central to grassroots level and our contingent of laboring people are much more capable than back in late 1975, but they are still unable to meet the requirements of the socialist revolution.

We have at an early date ascertained that the starting point of our direct advance toward socialism is from a society with its economy chiefly characterized by small production. Nevertheless, while in small production, it is not easy for us to fully understand what small production is. We have yet to realize the extent of smallness of our starting point; nor do we know by what steps and with what work methods we are going to advance from so small a start. We do not yet see the full extent of smallness concerning production forces, material-technical bases, the infrastructure necessary for economic activities and life and the efficiency of the social production system. Nor do we yet fully see the smallness in the thinking, psychology, conduct and customs of the society and each individual; the smallness in our work methods and our means of earning a living; and so forth. The Vietnamese have good capabilities and noble qualities forged by historical traditions and their revolutionary struggle, but, at the same time, they are handicapped by the weaknesses of a small-scale economy that has existed for many centuries. We have not yet fully and deeply realized all the limitations, sluggishness, resistance and other ills of this comprehensively small starting point.

The lack of knowledge and experience in large-scale production has delayed and, at times, rendered inaccurate the concretization of party lines into decisions in management. Weak organizational capability and the ills of small production have resulted in improper implementation of the decisions adopted; and the effectiveness of the various plans and policies has been limited due to departmentalism, parochialism, the lack of discipline and responsibility and perfunctory or unprofessional work. For these shortcomings and stumblings, every echelon and sector from the central to the grassroots level down to every working individual--each one with his one position and task--must be held partially responsible; and they must make self-criticisms and strive for rectifications. The higher the echelon, the greater and more urgent this requirement will be. It is highly improper to criticize others and cast the blame on others.

Due to the failure to fully realize small production as the starting point and to clearly see the steps and work methods to be taken, we have made two shortcomings which seem to be contradictory at first glance but actually have the same cause: on the one hand, filled with subjectivism and impatience, we thought we could accomplish a great deal at a rapid pace and on a large scale, chiefly under the five year 1976-1980 plan; and on the other hand, plagued by conservatism and sluggishness, we have long maintained management methods based on bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and are slow in removing



the irrational limitations to develop the creative force of the working people, basic units and localities--hence, our inability to fully exploit the existing production capabilities and strongpoints.

These shortcomings have underscored the inefficiency of the economic activities in the past 10 years, but efficiency is the most essential and most important requirement in economic work. The use of capital investments and of both fixed and liquid assets has been inefficient; labor productivity has been low; material losses have been substantial; production cost has been high; and the already poor quality of many kinds of goods has further dropped. Slow production development and some confusion in the circulation and distribution of goods have permitted only a negligible growth in the general economic indicators--such as social output, national income and the per capita share of the accumulation and consumption funds among the population which has increased by 12 million--when compared to 10 years ago. The small-scale production character remains prominent; not many large-scale production features have emerged; and the socio-economic system has been neither stabilized nor placed in the right orbit so as to advance expeditiously to socialism. In such an economic situation, it is natural that the people's life is difficult and the capital set aside for industrialization is limited.

Against the backdrop of economic deprivations and under the conditions of ideological and organizational work still falling short of requirements, there emerged laxity in work discipline and state law, degeneration among a component of party and administrative cadres and negative phenomena in the economy, culture, society and in the thoughts and lifestyle of a component of the population and youth.

In evaluating the present actual socio-economic situation, which is the general result of two-5-year plans, we must have an encompassing view, must see both the forest and the trees, both the light and the darkness, and both the present and the future. We should not ignore or belittle the shortcomings just because we only want to stress the successes. Nor should we deny our achievements and become pessimistic and discouraged because we are angry with our shortcomings.

It is unrealistic to demand that we should have correctly and fully perceived the root cause of small-scale production and should have acted upon this perception from the beginning. However, it is not true that we have paid enough for our shortcomings and that the time has come for us to draw the conclusion and move forward. At present, we are doing just that.

#### The Path and Measures of Advance

Summing up the lessons of the past 10 years and correctly assessing the present actual socio-economic situation will create a reliable basis for determining the policies and measures aimed at promoting socio-economic development in the coming years. This is a serious and painstaking analysis and synthesis which we should continue to carry out in a more profound, more comprehensive and more systematic manner. By the end of 1985, the situation can be summed up as follows: we have a correct line; have recorded great achievements; and have a firm cause of socialist revolution, a more mature

contingent of workers and cadres and progressive models that herald a new step of development. At the same time, the economy is not yet stabilized and is in disorder; the life of the people, especially workers, cadres and the armed forces is beset by numerous difficulties; and there are manifestations of negativism in society and in the party and state apparatuses.

#### The Common Tasks

On the basis of the general objectives set forth by the 5th Party Congress, the tasks under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan and for the subsequent years, until the end of the first stage, can be summed up as follows: to stabilize the economy and society, to make them follow the right orbit and to develop them at a fast tempo. On this basis, we will satisfactorily meet the demands of the country and create increasingly stronger socio-economic position and force that would enable us to conclude the first stage of the transitional period and switch to the second stage and to step up and complete national socialist industrialization.

We will stabilize and gradually improve the working people's standard of living and stabilize production, circulation, distribution and consumption. In short, we will stabilize the economy and society.

The right orbit for all aspects of activities and life, which is based on the relations of socialist production, is always aimed at advancing directly to socialism.

Securing stability and a right orbit is to settle all irregularities in the present situation, put an end to uncertainty, overcome difficulties, get rid of all negative phenomena, establish socialist order and discipline and make the economy and society healthy and able to develop well at a faster rate.

We must quickly increase the rate of socio-economic growth both quantitatively and qualitatively, carry out recycling for expanding production and the socialist production relations on a larger scale, revitalize the contingents of workers, laboring people and managerial, scientific and technical cadres and rebuild the superstructure of society, mainly in the ideological, cultural, custom and cultivation fields. Through each annual cycle, the scale of expanded production becomes all the larger and the quality of socialist expanded production all the more perfect.

Perform Socialist Accounting and Business Transactions, Accelerate the Three Revolutions

The 5th Party Central Committee's eighth plenum resolution which condenses the experiences of our party and state in the past years reflects a change in direction of revolutionary significance and is aimed at eliminating red tape and subsidization ills and at shifting to socialist accounting and business. We must adequately understand socialist accounting and business and must carry it out mainly in the economic field and, at the same time, in all other fields too. This not only is the guideline for the management system but also the spirit of a common guidance for organizing the economic structure, renovating socio-economic management, stepping up the ideological and cultural tasks and

revamping the cadre and organizational tasks. Socialist accounting and business is a general guideline connected closely with our party's historic task of leading the entire socialist revolution, with our state's role of organizing and operationally controlling all the social labor and other production forces nationwide, and with the laboring people's interests and duty of exercising their collective mastery over the society, nature and themselves.

Accounting means to make inventories, exercise control and correctly grasp and appraise all data in order to develop all the forces and capabilities of the countries in each component and in its entirety. At present, we still have to make much effort to fully use our labor and land and mobilize all the existing means of production and optimally utilize their output.

On the basis of accounting, we must firmly control all the forces and capabilities. Socialist business is aimed at the socialist goals of mobilizing all these forces and capabilities according to a rational economic structure and a dynamic management system and under sharp guidance and operational control; of bringing the various economic laws to bear correctly on the material interests; of applying the natural laws in order to have appropriate advanced industry in each sector and trade; and of bringing into full play the various ideological and psychological laws in order to enhance political enlightenment and positively influence the revolutionary zeal of the masses. We must engage in socialist business to vigorously develop all motive forces, best utilize all potentials, achieve development both in width and depth--emphasis on in-depth development--reduce material losses and production costs and achieve high productivity, quality and effectiveness.

Since the socialist revolution encompasses all aspects of human life, the state plan is a socio-economic plan. According to a systematic viewpoint, we recognize that all domains are organically interrelated in a close and sensitive manner within a very complex living body--the society--of which the economy is the decisive base after all consideration and the great historic stage on which all human activities take place. As direct production forces, science and technology (including social, natural and technical sciences) do not exist outside the economy. They must be components of the economy and moreover, the intrinsic requirement and strength of all production and business operations. Of profound impact on the contingent of workers--the main production force--are the education, training, information, culture, literature, arts, health protection, sports and physical training sectors. They must also be the vigorous force of the economy and hold an important role in our human strategy. All sectors must most rationally control and mobilize their own forces and, on this basis, develop their tasks to achieve the highest results with minimum costs.

In the spirit of economic accounting and socialist business, all economic and non-economic sectors and all localities and basic units must formulate plans to coordinate their activities in order to support production, develop the capability of each individual and exploit every inch of land.

Thus, the three revolutions that are being conducted simultaneously are closely related with and reinforce one another. The revolution of production

relations, which is taking place within the process of unifying transformation with construction and production relations with production forces, always opens the way for socio-economic progress. The science and technological revolution is the kingpin and the strongest factor for socio-economic growth; and it plays a decisive role in socialist national industrialization. The ideological and cultural revolution, which directly shapes the new type of men--men who are masters--introduces socialist ideology and culture to the masses and turns them into material forces with which to imitate a deep and broad movement of the working people to vigorously promote all the three revolutions.

The combined objectives of the three revolutions and of economic accounting and socialist business are to constantly increase the four aggregate norms of social product, national income, consumption funds and accumulation funds for the entire country as well as for each locality; to improve the people's living conditions; and to reserve a large amount of capital for industrialization and insuring national defense.

#### Rearranging the Economy and Insuring Intensive Development at the Grassroots Level

To carry out economic accounting and socialist business we must rearrange the economy on a national scale and pay attention to intensive cultivation and intensive development at every basic unit.

Rearranging the production system, together with building new production facilities, is aimed at creating an economic structure suited to the first stage of the transition period, bringing the nation's strongpoints into play and conforming to the ascending trend of the socialist revolution.

This must be a rational industrial-agricultural structure that satisfactorily combines the central economy with local economies; insures smooth interaction among production, distribution, circulation and consumption; fully utilizes all economic components, with the socialist economy serving as the nucleus; and links the domestic economy with export-import operations and with the external economy.

The policy to rearrange the economy was first introduced almost 10 years ago at the 4th Party Congress, and it was reaffirmed at the 5th Party Congress; but to date, we have not achieved much. The actual arrangement of the economy nationwide at present is irrational, disorderly and entangled. This must be clearly spelled out so we can realize how difficult, complex, important and pressing this work is now.

A rational economic structure resembles a complete body with each of its parts operating smoothly according to its correct function; and it generates by itself an aggregate strength of the entire system that is bigger than the sum of all its parts. Only such an economic structure will permit a new division of labor and a redistribution of labor in order to terminate disorderly integration and replace it with socialist integration. This will result in better utilization of the existing capacity and higher product quality and facilitate the state's efforts to control goods and money. Only this economic

structure offers, by its own nature, the possibility of abolishing bureaucratism and subsidization; and it serves as the most suitable operational instrument of the mechanism of management based on economic accounting and socialist business. Only this economic structure can provide the material basis for guaranteeing the realization of the working people's right to socialist collective mastery.

In rearranging and organizing the economic structure for the five year 1986-1990 plan and for the remaining years of the first stage, we will continue to treat agriculture as the primary front; combine agriculture with forestry and fishery; advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production within the combined industrial-agricultural structure; strive to make full use of labor, land, forests, and the sea; enforce a new division of labor and redistribute labor in every locality and on a national scale, with the district being a vital link, so as to enable agriculture to fulfill satisfactorily all the three tasks of providing grain for society, raw material for industry and important products for export. To promote agriculture it is important that we rapidly develop industry and make all-out efforts to bring into full play all the capacity of the agricultural products processing industry and the consumer goods industry while paying attention to developing heavy industry, especially key sectors such as energy, engineering, metallurgy, chemical and so forth, for the primary purpose of supporting agriculture and gradually re-equipping the economy.

In promoting agriculture and industry, we will strive to develop the capability of all economic components, with special attention given to improving the quality of the state-run and collectivized economies and vigorously encouraging and guiding the family-based economy of cooperative members (along with the family-based economy of other working people).

A strategic policy of great importance is to increase export and import operations by relying definitely on the Soviet Union, expanding all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community, carrying out realistic economic integration among the three Indochinese countries and promoting external economic relations with the non-aligned countries, especially India, and with capitalist countries. With an outlook far broader than that at present, it is necessary to continue revising management policies and correctly respect the principle of state monopoly over foreign trade and unified state control over foreign currencies. At the same time, it is necessary to vigorously promote exports to sustain imports and vice versa, and broadly develop flexible formats and measures in external economic fields. We must put an end to the period when sundry goods are collected for export and rapidly turn out great quantities of high quality key export goods that are appreciated by consumers, command a high value and have a firm position on international markets.

Industry, agriculture and foreign trade must become three closely related components. Every economic establishment must invariably strive to satisfactorily combine these three aspects.

In rearranging the economy, we are confronted not only with difficulties arising from the current structural imbalances but also with obstructions

stemming from the lack of economic, technical and managerial knowledge on the part of our cadres; from those who feel their power being curtailed; and from those who feel their interests, which are for the most part selfish and illegitimate, being cut down. Nevertheless, we have been marking time and hesitating too long--further delay is impossible now. Life as well as the resolution of the Party Central Committee's eighth plenum demands that we reorganize the economy. We must resolutely do this with careful study and preparations.

Along with reorganizing the economy nationwide, efforts must be made to promote intensive development at each basic unit. At the grassroots level, intensive development means to carry out economic accounting and socialist business. Using the state plan as the focal point, each basic unit must make full use of its own potential, formulate the best plan possible, gear its production to meet consumer demand and encourage its cadres and workers to apply science and technology and develop ever more progressive techniques to reduce material expenses, lower production costs, achieve high productivity, output and efficiency and increase profits. Proceeding from this, it will be able to fulfill its obligation to the state, accumulate more and more capital for expanded reproduction and increase the income of every worker. For those agricultural establishments in arable land areas as well as in newly reclaimed areas, intensive development means intensive cultivation. The growth from within the economy occurs first of all and basically like this. Intensive development is the result of the simultaneous promotion of the three revolutions with the scientific and technological revolution being the key.

#### Renovating Economic Management

Along with the rearrangement of the economy on a national scale and intensive development at every basic unit, a profound change that our country will be undergoing in the coming years is the renovation of the socio-economic management mechanism which calls for shifting from bureaucratic centralism and subsidization to democratic centralism, economic accounting and socialist business.

Concerning this renovation, a pressing requirement at present is to abolish subsidization in prices, wages and money. As has been stressed in the resolution of the Party Central Committee's eighty plenum, prices, wages and money must be adjusted in an intensive and resolute manner; but it is necessary to carefully formulate firm plans, project positive aspects and, at the same time, foresee adverse effects that may arise temporarily so that active measures may be taken for their prevention and control.

The most effective way is that, while stepping up the implementation of the 1985 plan and mapping out the 1986 plan and the 5-year (1986-1990) plan, each unit or locality plans its economic accounting and socialist business activities in a comprehensive manner with the planning for prices, wages and money being the key task. This is to generate a driving force for socio-economic development. Along with readjusting prices and wages, it is necessary to reorganize and increase production, keep the sources of goods and money under state control, expand the socialist trade network and renovate operating procedures, do away with speculative hoarding and blackmarketeering,

exercise control over the market and shift financial and monetary work to truly business operations.

The readjustment of prices and wages will bring to an end the state of impracticality and make each person, each unit and each locality responsible for the actual fruits of their labor in the service of the country. This is to insure that the recompense enjoyed by them is commensurate with their work done as already advocated in the principle of distribution according to labor. Such a price readjustment will serve as an incentive which, together with other measures, will help improve our production and increase our consumption. It will help each person get a bigger share of food distribution while saving some for the future.

Concerning the nature of the new management system, it is necessary to emphasize that throughout the transition to socialism, we must attach importance to the law of value and give goods-money relations an appropriate economic effect. We must set up at all costs a practical management system and must insure that the application of socialist economic laws is linked with the application of the laws of values, so that each economic law will develop in accordance with its degree of importance, and that the leading role will always rest with the basic economic laws of socialism and with the planned evolutionary laws of the national economy. We must control the laws of values without allowing the laws of values to develop freely and affect the process of production. We must regard this as a sharp tool for socialist construction and as a strong driving force capable of encouraging the laboring people to enthusiastically carry out their production and business activities, thus contributing to creating high output and demonstrating the superiority of socialism. In applying economic laws, we must encourage the laboring people and various units to conduct research and employ advanced technical processes, thus paving the way for introducing science and technology into production and business.

We must regard planning as a central task and effective policies on applying the laws of values as a yardstick, an incentive and control measure and a regulator.

For many years now, our party has pointed out clearly that at each echelon or sector, the main plan is the socialist business plan of that echelon or that sector and that the general plan of the state is the socialist business plan of the entire country. Thus, the state plan is the second platform of the party, the most important tool of the laboring people's socialist collective mastery, the heart of the management system, the strongest of all driving forces and the state law.

Discarding bureaucracy and subsidization and switching to economic accounting and socialist business is not work that we can do hastily in a short while, but it is rather a struggle requiring not only our persistence and our determination to discard the old system but also our greater effort to invent and implement new things in a correct manner.

Reorganizing the economy and renovating management must be carried out and perfected constantly along with the growth of the productive workforce and production relations.

#### Rectify Organizational and Cadre Activities

Organizational and cadre activities aimed at the economic structure and the new management system must be stepped up. On the basis of discerning clearly and combining satisfactorily the financial-economic function with the function of exercising direct control over production, we must streamline our management system, be imbued with the spirit of socialist business and insure that this system is practical, that it can provide the grassroots level with fast service and effective guidance for work implementation. Work discipline and state law must be strict. All systems concerning discipline, responsibilities, protecting public property and providing services to the people must be scrupulously complied with. Commendations and penalties must be timely and clearly defined. All stipulations on working procedures and on the process of making, issuing and carrying out a decision and of inspecting the implementation of this decision must be observed by all organs, from the central down to the grassroots levels. All cadre-related tasks, ranging from training, capability assessment, assignment and promotion to management as well as from long-range planning to immediate selection and reassignment must be truly renovated in a bid to detect and promote without delay those cadres in a trial period who are competent in carrying out economic accounting and socialist business. This is to help create a contingent of cadres at the grassroots level and in various echelons and sectors able to meet the new requirements arising from the socialist revolution.

#### Develop the System of Leadership by the Party, Mastery by the People and Management by the State

All the important and difficult tasks of reorganizing the economy, renovating the management system, readjusting organizational activities and creating a change for the better in cadre-related tasks can only be carried out successfully through the development of the combined system of leadership by the party, mastery by the people and management by the state. In everyday life, these three aspects are inseparable and indispensable. This is because if one of these aspects is non-existent or weak, the whole system will be affected.

The laboring people must have all the rights and duties as the masters and must improve their sense of mastery as well as their ability to exercise mastery.

Above all, the laboring people must exercise mastery over their own labor and must work in a disciplined manner within technical standards. Regardless of whether they are manual or mental laborers, the laboring people must yield valuable products worthy of coming from the eyes, brains and hands of people who are masters of their own work.

Taking another step forward, the laboring people must join with collectives to exercise mastery over the economic production process of their enterprises and



cooperatives and over all other activities in their city wards and neighborhoods.

Furthermore, the laboring people must join with social communities in exercising mastery over their localities and over the whole country through their representatives.

The party is the advocator and the leading force of the laboring people's socialist collective mastery. It is the one who maps out the revolutionary lines and the mode by which our people will exercise their mastery.

The state is a vital tool of the socialist collective mastery system and is a political organ of power set up by the working class and laboring people themselves. Led by the party, the functions of the state are to legalize the rights and duties of the laboring people in exercising their collective mastery and to manage socio-economic activities in accordance with the law. The extent to which this work is done can be seen by the extent to which the people are exercising their mastery.

Thus, leadership by the party and management by the state are eventually aimed at realizing the laboring people's mastery. In mankind's history, all great events in society have been created by the people. Under the socialist system, all are from the people and for the people. Only when we actually come from the people can we serve the people fully. This is a basic principle of the socialist collective mastery system. The people's mastery is clearly reflected in the masses' seething and constant movement to carry out simultaneously the three revolutions with immediate emphasis placed on implementing the resolutions of the Party Central Committee's 6th, 7th and 8th Plenums and on doing realistic jobs and achieving specific goals for each given area at each particular moment.

Only the revolutionary movement of the masses can help do away with bureaucracy and subsidization, carry out economic accounting and socialist business, build and transform the country and its people, eliminate sabotage and reactionary elements, sweep away all the rubbish and bring light to dispel the darkness.

From the revolutionary gains of the past 40 years and from the lessons learned over the past 10 years in carrying out the socialist revolution in the entire country, our people have gained confidence and are moving forward enthusiastically in accordance with the lines charted by the party. Every person and the entire nation, every unit and the entire economy and society must surge forward to fulfill satisfactorily the 1985 plan and the 5-year (1981-1985) plan and to devise and implement satisfactorily the 5-year (1986-1990) plan to advance toward bringing to a successful conclusion the initial stage before beginning the stage of increasing socialist industrialization, building socialism successfully and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland firmly.

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THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP IS THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN EACH VICTORY WON IN THE STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL ORDER

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[Article by Pham Hung]

[Text] Part I

Under the leadership of the party, our people and our people's public security forces have, in 40 years of continuous fighting, overcome every difficulty and hardship and won large victories in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other criminals to maintain national security and social order.

The largest achievements recorded by the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces in the cause of maintaining national security have been the victories won, with the help of all the people, over the professional intelligence forces of the Japanese fascists, Chiang Kai-shek's Special Service, the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists in the war of national liberation and the war to defend the fatherland and the efforts now being made to defeat each cunning plot of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionaries, determined to defeat their war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage.

In the various stages of its struggle filled with hardships and glorious victories, our nation has always had to confront many enemy aggressors at the same time, all of whom have devised many cunning, insane schemes for attacking our country's revolution. One of these has been to attack us internally, mainly to attack our vital agencies and assassinate key leaders of our party and state. The Vietnam People's Public Security Forces, who have displayed unquestioned loyalty to the party and are a dependable force of the party, an effective tool of the proletarian dictatorship state and the beloved sons and daughters of the people, have, along with the entire party, all our people and the entire army, maintained the security for vital agencies and key leaders of the party and state, protected the revolutionary administration and the socialist system, protected the right of collective ownership of the working people and protected the life, property and peaceful life of the people. This is a task in which the people's public security forces can take very much

pride because they have performed it in strict compliance with the teaching of the esteemed Uncle Ho that they "possess unquestioned loyalty to the party" and done precisely as instructed by Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee: "The party selects public security cadres from among those who are most loyal to the party, those who live and die with the party, who only know that they exist as long as the party exists."(1)

Under the direct leadership of the various party committee echelons, the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces, fulfilling their role as the central, shock force, working closely with the various sectors and mass organizations and combining mass measures with professional and scientific-technical measures, have taken the initiative in preventing the activities of and promptly suppressing professional hoodlums, aggressive gangsters, robbers and murderers, thereby contributing to the struggle against crimes against socialist property, against speculation, blackmarketing and disruption of the market and the struggle to eradicate social ills, thus helping to stabilize social order during normal times as well as time of war.

In the field of international cooperation and the fulfillment of our international obligation, the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces have also recorded large achievements. The cadres and soldiers of the people's public security forces, possessing as they do a thorough understanding of the foreign policy and line of the party and a high proletarian international spirit, clearly recognize that the special relations of unity and friendship among the revolutions of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are a law in the development of the revolution of each country, are, from the standpoint of the destiny of the three nations, a matter of survival. The people's public security forces have made every possible effort to strengthen their effective cooperation with the public security and interior agencies of Laos and Cambodia in the spirit of uniting, cooperating and fighting the common enemy on the same, common battlefield. The people's public security forces also have a thorough understanding of the line on uniting and cooperating in every respect with the Soviet Union and always consider this to be the bedrock of the foreign policy of our party and state, to be a sure guarantee of victory in the work of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. On the basis of this realization, we have increased our cooperation with the security and interior agencies of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. This cooperation, most importantly with the Soviet Union, has enabled us to increase the efficiency of public security forces and make them better able to fight the common enemy. At the same time, it has enabled us to build the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces and win large victories.

On the basis of the achievements that have been recorded during the past 40 years and looking back on the struggle to maintain security and social order in the different periods of the revolution, the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces deeply realize that all of the glorious feats of arms and achievements that have been recorded have stemmed, above everything else, from the leadership provided by the renowned Communist Party of Vietnam.

## Part II

The science and art of guiding the struggle to maintain national security, maintain social order are an integral part of our party's science and art of guiding the revolution. Everything from the tasks and targets of the revolution during each period, from the strategy to the tactics of the struggle, from revolutionary method to professional measures have been thoroughly understood and applied by the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces in their missions, in their organization and operations with the aim of helping to advance the revolution to victory.

By firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and adhering to the fundamental elements of the line on the revolution, namely, combining national independence and socialism, the thinking that the working people are the collective masters and an offensive strategy, our party has successfully resolved the questions that have arisen concerning the laws by which victory is won in the cause of maintaining security and social order.

1. Maintaining effective prevention, taking the initiative in attacking and continuously attacking, establishing control and attacking, attacking and establishing control in order to wipe out and rout counter-revolutionaries and eliminate the other types of crime.

Concerning the strategy of the Vietnamese revolution, President Ho Chi Minh stressed the thinking that we be "determined to constantly maintain an offensive position." This thinking is based in objective reality, in science, is consistent with the laws of development of our times and is closely associated with the strength of the mass of workers and farmers under the leadership of the party, with the staunch and unyielding tradition of the nation, with the strategic offensive position of the world revolution.

Today, supported by a new base, the system of socialist collective ownership, the conditions exist for this strategy to develop and assume a new quality, to create for our people the most powerful strength they have had in any stage of their history.

By fully adhering to the thinking of maintaining an offensive strategy and the thinking of socialist collective ownership in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, the struggle to maintain national security and social order, our party has successfully resolved the questions that have arisen concerning our strategy in this struggle and developed correct forms and methods of struggle.

National security and social order are a front on which an exceedingly difficult, bitter and complex struggle is taking place between ourselves and the enemy and between socialism and capitalism. This front has its own unique characteristics and laws. It is a struggle, as Lenin pointed out, against "underground saboteurs," a struggle waged mainly by "secret means." Therefore, vigilance is the highest requirement in this struggle. Lenin maintained that in order to win victory over the intelligence agents and spies of the imperialists, "every man should be on the watch."

Vigilance must be redoubled and a series of measures must be adopted and carried out everywhere with the greatest possible strictness in order to track down and capture spies and white guard conspirators... In particular, precautionary measures must be redoubled... Every man must be on the watch and maintain regular, military-style contact with the committees of the party, with public security agencies and with the most trusted and experienced comrades within the Soviet administrative agencies."(2)

Clearly, in order to win victory over the enemy on this front and provide absolute security for the revolution, it is first of all necessary for revolutionary forces to be the masters of themselves. Consequently, maintaining very tight internal management and building an internal organization that is truly pure, solid and strong are a matter of special importance in the area of prevention, in not allowing, through negligence, the enemy to control our internal organization and sabotage us.

Within the plans to provide effective prevention, we must organize zones and areas of operation, which focus on a specific target, and establish a truly strong and solid deployment of preventive forces.

The party and its organizations are the battlegrounds where our preventive measures must be the strongest. The party chapters must truly be a fortress, be highly vigilant against each scheme and activity of the enemy. At present, our domestic and foreign enemies are directing the thrust of their efforts toward our party and looking for every way to sabotage it politically, ideologically and organizationally. Therefore, the key tasks in the work of protecting the party are to constantly heighten the class nature and the vanguard nature of the party, make the party solid and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally and increase both the fighting strength and the leadership ability of the party in the work of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

The proletarian dictatorship state is the tool that expresses the right of collective ownership of the working people and directly expresses the leadership provided by the party. It, too, is a target of saboteurs. Therefore, it is also a battlefield on which preventive measures must be well organized. It is necessary to constantly work to solidify and strengthen the various levels of the administration, especially the basic level and assign cadres to the right positions; take determined steps to remove bureaucratic, degenerate and deviant elements; strengthen the socialist system of law; strengthen the management of society by laws and correct the abnormal situation that exists now, namely, that although many laws and regulations have been promulgated, they are not being strictly enforced or even enforced at all; and improve methods of operation and the style of work. These are the basic requirements in solidifying and strengthening the state apparatus and, at the same time, insuring that effective prevention is maintained within state agencies.

One very dangerous factor is the activities being conducted by the enemy in a vain attempt to divide us internally, to separate the masses from the party, to divide the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, to divide the socialist countries. Therefore, insuring that a high degree of political and

moral consensus exists among the people is the prerequisite to maintaining national security, maintaining effective prevention and, on this basis, taking the initiative and promptly suppressing each act of sabotage of the enemy.

Only by taking positive steps to build an internal organization that is pure, solid and strong, only by taking the initiative in providing for effective prevention within party organizations, administration organizations and the mass organizations as well as within key areas can we establish battle positions that are effectively and well defended and, on this basis, take the initiative in attacking counter-revolutionaries and criminals. We must attack them politically, ideologically and organizationally, attack them continuously at all times and places and in every field, attack them by means of many different forces, in many different ways and by many different methods.

2. Carrying out a full-scale struggle waged by all the people on the security and social order front, a struggle within which the people's public security forces are the nucleus, a struggle waged by professional forces, semi-professional forces and widespread mass bases; tapping the combined strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system.

To achieve control and take the offensive, take the offensive and achieve control, provide for effective prevention, take the offensive and continuously attack, we must organize the forces of all the people and tap the combined strength of the proletarian dictatorship system in the struggle to maintain security and social order.

Maintaining security and social order has always been an exceedingly important task in all periods of the revolution. In this field, the esteemed President Ho Chi Minh taught: "To succeed, we must have tens of millions of pairs of hands, tens of millions of pairs of eyes and ears. To accomplish this, we must rely upon the people, not be far removed from them. Otherwise, we will fail. When the people provide us with much assistance, our achievements are large; when they provide us with little assistance, our achievements are small; when they provide us with total assistance, our victories are total." (3)

Due to the specific conditions existing during the various stages of the revolution, the breadth of participation by the people in the struggle and the forms of agitation and organization of the masses employed within the various movements have not been the same. Today, with the system of socialist collective ownership having been established nationwide, the struggle being waged by all the people under the leadership of the party to maintain security and social order has reached a new level of development in terms of both its size and quality. This is strength based on the exercise of ownership by our people nationwide, within each locality and at each basic unit.

To mobilize and organize participation by the masses in the struggle to maintain security and social order, it is first of all necessary to insure revolutionary zeal on the part of the masses in conjunction with looking after their everyday interests. At the same time, we must concern ourselves with systematically educating the masses so that they understand the lines and policies of the party, understand love and the socialist system of law,

understand the rights and obligations of the citizen, understand the country's overall situation, understand the country's difficulties and advantages and understand the guidelines and targets of the party and state in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland.

All of the above can only be achieved through mass movements. We must establish a movement of the masses to maintain security and social order. This must be a widespread political campaign, a campaign of a class and national nature, a campaign that reflects the power of the dictatorship by the people exercising ownership in the struggle to maintain security and social order, a campaign that possesses the power needed to severely punish overt enemies and block the hands of covert enemies as well as the power to suppress and the strength to educate and transform, to build the new system and mold the new man.

Mobilizing and organizing participation by the masses in the struggle to maintain security and social order must be carried out in conjunction with continuously building the people's public security forces to serve as the nucleus in this struggle.

Having been born and grown up within the spirited, widespread and continuous revolutionary movement of our people, the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces have been a working class army from the very outset, an army under the direct leadership of the party. Manning the frontline in the struggle to maintain security and social order and always standing shoulder to shoulder with, always living and fighting alongside the people, the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces have experienced stages of history filled with hardships and challenges, with brilliant feats of arms.

At present, the task that our entire party, our entire army and all our people must shoulder in order to maintain national security and social order is exceedingly large. The situation and tasks of the revolution and the situation and tasks involved in maintaining security and order in view of the new circumstances that exist further accentuate the special importance of building the people's public security forces. As pointed out by the 5th Congress of the Party, the key task in building the people's public security forces is: "We must build people's public security forces that are pure, solid and strong in every respect, are truly the effective tool of the proletarian dictatorship state, possess unquestioned loyalty to the fatherland, the party and the people. They must consist of regular, modern, specialized forces that are politically dependable, professionally skilled, well versed in science and technology and provided with the necessary specialized equipment; solid and strong semi-specialized forces; and widespread mass bases in order to insure the excellent completion of each task." (4) To achieve these ends, we must constantly do more to build and strengthen the people's public security forces in every respect, build and strengthen them politically, ideologically and organizationally.

Building the people's public security forces politically is a fundamental principle of foremost importance in insuring that these forces always firmly maintain their class nature, their revolutionary character, their popular nature. The specifics involved in building these forces politically and

ideologically must be comprehensive, must include: insuring the party's absolute, direct and comprehensive leadership of the people's public security forces; uniting closely with the people, being ready to fight and die to protect the people and only serving, never harming, the interests of the people; constantly working to make the people's public security forces the effective tool of the proletarian dictatorship state; intensifying the research on the theory and science of public security work, closely linking this research to the practical aspects of work and combat, always fulfilling tasks for the fatherland and being ready to fulfill their international obligation.

In building the people's public security force organizationally, it is necessary to build a force that is well coordinated and balanced, is unified and highly specialized, necessary to include the entire system of specialized forces, semi-specialized forces and widespread mass bases and necessary to guarantee unified leadership and command.

The strength of the specialized people's public security forces can only be increased by standardizing and gradually modernizing the various aspects of the operations of the people's public security forces. The efforts made to build the people's public security forces in accordance with the guideline of standardization must reflect the special characteristics and requirements involved in guiding the struggle to maintain security, coincide with the utilization of professional technical equipment that is becoming more modern with each passing day and, at the same time, reflect the requirements that exist with regard to cultivating the cultured, disciplined, wholesome and pure way of life of the people's public security forces. The objective of standardization is to increase the degree of centralism and uniformity in every aspect of the organization of these forces, in conjunction with political and ideological uniformity, in order to achieve the highest possible degree of uniformity of actions in every aspect of the work, combat and buildup of these forces. This is a process of resolving, in a way that is well coordinated, problems regarding organization and staff; cadre training; material, technical and rear service support; the improvement and promulgation of orders, statutes, regulations and rules within the people's public security sector; the maintenance of discipline; the effort to eliminate liberalism, the habit of doing as one sees fit and the lack of discipline; and the struggle against bureaucracy, arrogance and impolite behavior toward everyone.

Standardization must always be closely tied to gradually carrying out modernization in order to resolve the problems that the people's public security forces are encountering with professional technical equipment and rear service support. It is necessary to display a high spirit of self-reliance, a high spirit of ownership and gradually modernize the technical equipment and mold the men and women of the people's public security forces. The scientific and technical standards of cadres and soldiers must be raised so that they can, on this basis, constantly improve their proficiency in the use of professional public security equipment, means and technology and develop resourceful and highly effective methods of fighting.

Mobilizing the strength of all the people in conjunction with building the people's public security forces are the basis for bringing a combined strength



to the struggle. This combined strength brought to the struggle to maintain security and social order is formed on the basis of the combined strength of the Vietnamese revolution.

This strength is the strength of all the people organized in layer upon layer of the "people's security network," a tightly organized and widespread "dragnet" that exists within each subward, village, precinct, district, municipality and province, within agencies, enterprises, schools and hospitals within which each citizen performs a public security task and every village and hamlet is a fortress from which no enemy can escape.

Within this dense network, we must combine the revolutionary activism of the masses with the technical and professional skills of specialized agencies. We must combine the strength of the people as masters with the strength of the people's public security forces as the nucleus in this struggle. The regular, modern specialized people's public security forces must be coordinated with the semi-specialized forces and the widespread mass basis on a nationwide scale, within each locality and at each basic unit. There must be coordination among the various sectors, agencies, mass organizations, forces and the various arms of the military. There must be close coordination among the public security, control and judicial sectors, especially between the people's public security forces and the people's army, the militia and self-defense forces.

The effort to mobilize and bring the above strength to the struggle to maintain security and social order must be expressed within a unified, scientifically calculated plan that focuses on primary targets, on key areas, on completely resolving problems within a specified amount of time with the aim of achieving specific objectives.

3. Combining socialist construction with the defense of the socialist fatherland; closely combining the proletarian dictatorship's function of organizing and building with its function of suppression by means of violent force; combining security with national defense, security with the economy, security with social order and safety.

Combining building the country and defending the country, combining socialist construction with the defense of the socialist fatherland is a fundamental view in our party's line on the socialist revolution. At the same time, it has been a law in the development of our country's revolution during the past 40 years.

To fully implement this fundamental view in the struggle to maintain security and order, we must establish the following fundamental relationships well:

We must closely combine the proletarian dictatorship's function of organizing and building with its function of suppression by means of violent force, the most important of which is the function of organizing and building. We must proceed with the utmost determination and caution and be very objective and comprehensive. We must display high vigilance and not allow those who do wrong to slip by unnoticed. We must guard against mistakes and not falsely accuse innocent persons. Harsh punishment must be combined with clemency,

suppression with education and reeducation. Suppression and punishment must be strict, fair and timely, must be directed toward the right persons, must comply with policy and the law. Education and reeducation must be positive, steadfast and thorough.

The proletarian dictatorship's function of employing violent force and its function of organizing and building must be understood and implemented in all fields of social life. Therefore, in the field of maintaining security and order, it is absolutely necessary that the maintenance of security be correctly combined with all other fields.

In the books of President Ho Chi Minh on security work, he explained the thinking behind this close coordination, especially between the maintenance of security and national defense, the maintenance of security and the economy. With regard to security and national defense, he pointed out: "There are times of war and times of peace. In war time, the army fights the enemy. In peace time, it trains. But public security forces must fight the enemy constantly. They have a job to perform in war time but many more jobs to perform in peace time." (5) With regard to the economy, he stated: "The public security sector cannot lag behind industry, agriculture, commerce and communications-transportation. It is best that the public security sector be a step ahead." (6)

Today, facing as we do a situation in which we are at peace but must deal with the war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, we must have a unified security, national defense and economic strategic plan so that we can successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

4. Closely combining genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism and excellently fulfilling our international obligation.

Displaying a high spirit of self-reliance while participating in a strategic alliance with the Soviet Union and a militant alliance with Laos and Cambodia are a very basic view of our party. This view encompasses very many aspects of the struggle to maintain security and social order, most importantly those of supporting the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other criminals and maintaining national security and social order.

The international line of the party plays a profound role in controlling what we do in the struggle to maintain national security and social order. When resolving problems regarding security and order, we must have a thorough understanding of the foreign policy of the party and take into consideration all political, economic, military and international factors as well as developments and changes in these factors.

### Part III

Applying the guidelines and principles set forth above in organizing the practical aspects of the struggle is part of the party's art of guiding the

struggle. This is a very important aspect of the struggle to maintain security and social order.

This art encompasses very many elements, all of which are closely associated with the different periods of development of the revolution. Guiding the struggle to maintain security and social order is the task of all organizations of the party, from the central level to the localities and basic units, of all agencies, mass organizations and armed forces, with the most decisive factor being the guidance provided by the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau.

In our application of the art of guiding the struggle to maintain security and social order, we must be exceedingly effective and act with utmost speed. To accomplish this, we must assess the enemy correctly, know how to establish a position and forces for ourselves in the struggle and take the initiative against the enemy.

It can be said that clearly identifying each adversary in the struggle, knowing the plans, the mode of operation and the tactics of the various types of adversaries and taking the initiative in adopting specific plans to fight them are the matters of most decisive significance in the art of guiding the struggle. These are areas in which our party has had striking success.

On the basis of the tasks of the revolution, on the basis of clearly distinguishing between friends and enemies during each period, during each stage of the revolution, our party has correctly identified the various adversaries against whom the thrust of the struggle must be directed and who must be punished by us on the security and social order front. The basic requirements of the art of assessing the enemy are: knowing the plans, the mode of operation and the tactics of each adversary; correctly identifying adversaries who pose a danger, adversaries who pose an immediate danger, their key personnel and the masterminds of their activities; determining the relationship that exists among adversaries, especially between the intelligence agents and spies of the imperialists and the other types of reactionaries and criminals; taking advantage of the antagonisms that exist among the various types of adversaries, dividing and highly isolating them in order to attack the enemy in a comprehensive manner, direct the thrust of the struggle against our most dangerous adversary, attack their key personnel, eliminate their lackeys and reduce and eventually eradicate their base of support.

The enemies we face in the field of security are exceedingly dangerous. On the outside, they appear quite normal. However, when the opportunity presents itself, they attack us immediately, which causes incalculable harm to the revolution. Therefore, in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, we must not only make strategic projections, but must also keep abreast of the situation so that we can make projections concerning each specific situation. Consequently, one very important requirement of the art of guiding the struggle is to always take the initiative from the very outset against the enemy, take the initiative in every situation.

In this field, before taking action, the enemy generally works out a plan for the sabotage they intend to commit, for how their forces will be utilized, selects a time and place and does all this in secrecy. If we know how to fight the enemy "from afar," if we keep abreast of the development of their schemes and tactics, if we secretly steer the enemy in the direction we want them to go and deprive them of the initiative, we will surely lay a solid foundation for winning victory.

As part of the art of providing guidance, we must also know how to create position and forces in order to be able to take the initiative. This position is the multi-layered people's security network, which creates a "dragnet" and enables us to win victory over counter-revolutionaries and other types of criminals. This is the art of establishing close coordination among specialized forces, semi-specialized forces and mass bases; among the various sectors, agencies, mass organizations, public security forces and the army; and among the public security, control, court and judicial sectors in maintaining the socialist system of law and discipline, combating enemy sabotage, protecting socialist property, protecting the life and property of the people and maintaining political security and social order under the leadership of the party. This is also the art of seizing opportunities, of knowing how to concentrate our forces against our main adversary or within a key area.

The organizations of the party and the various party committee echelons must fulfill their function of guiding the struggle to maintain security and order within the scope of their responsibilities. Of special importance are the need to guide the effort to mobilize and organize participation by the masses in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, to maintain security and social order, and the need to lead the mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland so that this movement develops in a continuous, widespread and solid manner. At the same time, "the various party committee echelons must truly assist and closely lead the public security forces"(7) so that these forces fulfill their function of constantly being on duty and serve as the staff of the party committees as they guide the struggle against crime, the struggle to firmly maintain security and social order. The people's public security forces must keep abreast of the situation, must promptly research and propose plans and contingency plans for use in the struggle and provide a base upon which the party committees can guide the struggle. At the same time, they must thoroughly develop their specialized, professional skills and their role in directly implementing these policies and plans of the party committee. The organizations of the party and the various party committee echelons must fully comply with the teaching of Uncle Ho: "Only by researching specialized fields, only by understanding specialized fields is it possible to effectively solve problems."(8)

The party's guidance of the struggle to maintain security and order must be implemented through the management function of the agencies of the state, from the central to the local and basic levels. As the tool through which we build and defend socialism, our state must always attach importance to the tasks of strengthening the national defense system, strengthening political security and improving our social order and insure that the country is always fully

prepared to crush each attack by those who would instigate a war, by aggressors and crush the opposition activities of counter-revolutionaries.

Socio-economic management has an impact upon the effectiveness of our efforts in the struggle to maintain security and order. Conversely, the effectiveness with which we maintain security and order has a reciprocal impact upon socio-economic management. Shortcomings and weaknesses on our part, especially the bureaucratic centralism and subsidization that have been a part of socio-economic management in the recent past, have limited the ability of the organizations of the party and the various party committee echelons to perform practical organizational work in their task of guiding the struggle to maintain security and order.

Under the absolute, direct and comprehensive leadership of the party, by tapping the spirit of socialist collective ownership of the working people, by increasing the management effectiveness of the state, by coordinating each and every aspect of our operations, by closely tying security work and national defense to production, everyday life, cultural activities, society and organizational and ideological work, by achieving the combined strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system, by utilizing every force, by coordinating each measure, by taking positive steps to build a solid and strong internal organization, by providing for effective prevention, by taking the initiative in attacking all types of crime and by concentrating our forces in key areas and against our principal adversaries, we surely will maintain political security and social order well and defeat the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage, thereby making worthy contributions to the successful construction of socialism and the firm defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Speech by Le Duan at the 13th National Public Security Conference, 1959.
  2. V.I. Lenin: "Articles and Speeches on Military Affairs," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, Volume IV, pp 368-369.
  3. "Chu tich Ho Chi Minh voi nganh Cong an nhan dan Viet nam"[President Ho and the Vietnam People's Public Security Sector], published by the Ministry of Interior, 1980, pp 10-11.
  4. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, pp 45-46.
  5. "Chu tich Ho Chi Minh voi nganh Cong an nhan dan Viet nam"...,p 19.
  6. Ibid., p 23.
  7. Ibid., p 47.
  8. Ibid., p 28.
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COMPLETELY DISMANTLING BUREAUCRACY AND SUBSIDIZATION, RESOLVING SOME PRESSING PROBLEMS WITH PRICES, WAGES AND MONEY WITH THE AIM OF STIMULATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION, CONTROLLING THE SOCIAL MARKET AND STABILIZING AND PARTIALLY IMPROVING THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 28-38

[Article by To Huu]

[Text] I. The Situation Surrounding Prices, Wages and Money

Throughout the 30 years of the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, the conditions needed for economic development did not exist in our country. To meet combat requirements and the people's needs in life, we had to rely, for the greater part, on the aid of fraternal countries, and as a result, prices and wages as well as finance and currency remained basically stable. The subsidization system, which was essential during the resistance wars, has become a habit in our way of life and socio-economic management.

Since the liberation of southern Vietnam, the economic and financial conditions in our country have basically changed. Non-refundable aid has become insignificant. The greater part of long-term loans granted by the fraternal and friendly countries has been devoted to the building of completely equipped projects.

Since 1981, we have enjoyed no more preferences regarding the prices of imported goods, which have more than doubled. The volume of many kinds of imported supplies and consumer goods has been reduced considerably. Despite our efforts to develop local production in line with the guidelines specified in the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee and despite some encouraging achievements, the assets produced at home have not yet exceeded that of the diminished assets secured from foreign sources.

The two wars of aggression staged by the Chinese reactionaries along the southwestern and northern borders of our country in 1979 caused heavy losses to our people. Our population has grown very fast. For this reason, our per capita national income decreased unexpectedly by 20 percent in 1975 and has continued to decrease annually by 2 to 3 percent. Meanwhile, our national defense needs were very great and our capital construction expenses had to be

maintained at a high level. In 1980, faced with difficulties, great economic imbalance and international price fluctuations, the Political Bureau issued Resolution Number 26, and then in 1981, it issued Directive Number 109 on distribution-circulation improvements. The Political Bureau's Resolution Number 26 issued in June 1980 provided guidelines and policies on improving distribution-circulation operations in three steps:

1. Stabilize the economic situation and life, achieve budgetary and cash balances and prepare conditions for adjusting prices and wages;
2. Adjust retail prices, obligatory purchase prices and wages; and
3. Adjust wholesale prices and perfect the distribution-circulation system.

Realities have shown the correctness and necessity of the general guidelines and policies in adjusting distribution-circulation operations. However, the planning of the three steps mentioned above has been proven wrong and unable to help stabilize the economic situation and life or achieve budgetary and cash balances. This is because we have failed to primarily adjust prices and wages and control the social market in accordance with the view of thoroughly abolishing the bureaucratic mechanism of economic management based on state subsidies and completely switching the entire management system to the socialist system of economic accounting and socialist business practices while maintaining subsidization through prices and wages. Aware of this weakness, the Political Bureau issued Directive Number 109 in May 1981 making state-prescribed prices correspond to the value of goods and to the purchasing power of money; restricting the subsidization scale; strictly reducing the volume of goods supplied in kind; and granting wage allowances to workers, government employees and the armed forces.

Implementing the Political Bureau's resolution and directive, in 1981 and 1982, the state realized a relatively comprehensive adjustment of the pricing system, with the exception of supply pricing including mainly nine staple commodities. The price level was raised five to seven times in 1981 and 1982, reflecting in a relatively correct manner the value of merchandise, the actual purchasing power of money and the actual market prices at that time. This price adjustment contributed to expanding the operations of the socialist trade sector, boosting the compulsory purchase of goods and placing goods under state control. The relative value of agricultural and industrial products was adjusted more rationally and, as a result, the industrial construction, communications and transportation enterprises, far from sustaining losses as before, began to make profits and difficulties regarding the state budget were reduced.

However, the problems of prices, wages and money are very complicated. Moreover, because of our lack of experience, the readjustment of prices and wages in 1981 and 1982 showed many shortcomings and weaknesses. The main points were that we failed to realize that the profound malady of the national economic management system was bureaucracy and subsidization; we failed to grasp the idea of abolishing subsidization, we failed to completely shift our economy and management work to socialist economic accounting and business practices. The maintenance of excessively low prices of supplies and the low

wage system resulted in the situation where production costs did not correctly reflect the wage system. Despite adjustments, prices did not yet reflect correctly the value and purchasing power of the fluctuating currency. The state budget had to compensate for big losses. Trade activities encountered many complications and difficulties. There was a lack of uniformity in making calculations as well as in managerial work. Wage allowances did not correspond to price increases. Prices were adjusted, but at the same time, production activities were not rearranged and reorganized and the transformation, management and control of markets were not intensified. The price and wage systems remained inflexible and unsuitable to the economic and financial situation still showing major imbalances and lacking steadfast and stable development.

Since the adjustment of prices and wage allowances in 1981 and 1982, the distribution-circulation situation, far from being stabilized, has continued to change in a complicated and confusing manner. Prices, wages and money have become hot issues, revealing many discrepancies needing urgent settlement. This situation has proved that over the years, despite some partial changes, the policies on prices, wages and money have basically assumed the character of bureaucracy and subsidization, mainly at the central level. The system of prices, wages and money has lacked essential dynamism and has been unsuitable to an economy in the initial stage of the transition from small production to socialist large-scale production.

The adjustment of prices, wages and money over the past years has not been uniform as far as the entire national economy, production, distribution-circulation and consumption are concerned. It has not been linked to production, market control and socialist transformation. Price adjustment and satisfactory adjustment of wages have not been made simultaneously. Moreover, financial and monetary systems and policies have also not been adjusted or suitably amended.

In general, despite adjustments of prices, wages and money, managerial work has not yet been able to rid itself of the bureaucratic state-subsidy system. Planning and management work is still done in accordance with the system of centralism, bureaucracy and subsidization and on the basis of distribution and delivery at any cost. The state may receive profits if available but must compensate for losses. Economic accounting has become a completely misleading system, which has driven production and trade installations into a state of passiveness, dependence and dullness and has not forced them to pay attention to productivity, quality and effectiveness. For this reason, any dynamic installation seeking to boost production and trade activities with economic results must operate secretly and disregard regulations. Obviously, guidance and management regarding prices, wages and money as well as the economic management system have not been effective, strict or resolute, showing a lack of unity in thought and action. As a result, centralism and bureaucracy have prevailed along with liberalism and decentralism. State discipline and laws have not been scrupulously implemented. The management mechanism has been less effective. The principle of democratic centralism has been seriously violated. The cadres' capacity has generally been limited, failing to meet



the requirements to renovate the management mechanism, dismantle bureaucracy and subsidization and completely switch to the socialist system of economic accounting and business practices.

## II. Objectives and Guidelines for Solving the Problems of Prices, Wages and Money

In view of the situation mentioned above and with a view to contributing to achieving the socio-economic objectives laid down by the 5th Party Congress and the Party Central Committee's 6th and 7th Plenums, the settlement of the issues of prices, wages and money is aimed at meeting the following essential requirements:

Boosting production for development in accordance with a rational system in various sectors, regions and components; exploiting all potentials in labor, land, branches, occupations and the available material and technical bases to vigorously develop production with higher productivity, quality and effectiveness; stabilizing the distribution-circulation situation; controlling the market and prices; stabilizing the livelihood of the laboring people in general, mainly workers, government employees and armed forces members; contributing to gradually creating accumulation sources from the national economy to achieve socialist industrialization and build material and technical bases of socialism; contributing to boosting socialist transformation; developing state-run and collective economies; countering negativism and enemy sabotage.

Bureaucracy and subsidization are the maladies of the current economic management system, especially in the spheres of prices, wages, finance, credit, currency circulation and trade. For this reason, as far as prices, wages and money are concerned, the abolition of bureaucracy and subsidization is a very pressing requirement and a decisive central link in boosting production, controlling the market, improving and gradually stabilizing the laboring people's life and changing the entire system of managing the national economy.

The main contents of the work to dismantle bureaucracy and subsidization in prices, wages and monetary matters are as follows:

1. All rational expenses must be computed into production costs; costs must be insured to cover all rational and real expenses so that the state will gradually stack up accumulations; the situation wherein the state must make up for irrational losses must be eliminated; the one-price mechanism must be carried out; errors, omissions and shortcomings in fixing and managing prices must be remedied; all speculative activities must be eliminated; labor distribution and management decentralization in the price management mechanism must be correctly implemented in order to insure the central government's right to centralization and uniformity in fixing prices for prime materials and commodities of a national nature while guaranteeing the localities' and installations' right to have their own initiative and flexibility on materials and commodities of a local nature; and on the basis of a rational labor distribution and management decentralization, price discipline must be tightened.

2. We must insure that real wages are sufficient to replenish the energy expended in labor and consistent with the capabilities of our national economy. We must closely link wages with labor productivity, quality and efficiency; carry out the principle of distribution in accordance with labor; implement a uniform wage system nationwide, with rational differences among the regions and sectors taken into consideration; give preferential treatment to those occupations and trades that require hard work, that have noxious or harmful effects or that demand high professional or technical skills; apply cash payment for wages with commodity funds as a guarantee; and eliminate the low-price system of supply in kind, which does not truly reflect the actual prices of commodities.

3. We must establish the financial autonomy of sectors, localities and installations; definitely switch all production and business activities of all sectors, localities and installations to economic accounting and socialist business practices; and get rid of all irrational loss compensations by state, central-level and local budgets for production and business activities. Loss compensations, if any, must be considered as isolated, temporary cases and must be strictly scrutinized. All economic organizations must be held responsible for the profits and losses of their own sectors, localities and units. We must abolish all expenses of the central and local budgets of a prevalent subsidization nature and all expenses not consistent with the state system; tighten financial discipline; strive to positively achieve budgetary balance in a short period; and create conditions for local budgets to have stabilized and increased revenues. The central level should not subsidize the localities.

4. Monetary and credit work must be rapidly shifted to economic accounting and socialist business practices. We must do a good job in discharging all bank functions in order to create the best possible conditions for all sectors, localities and installations to implement economic accounting and socialist business practices; use the economic efficiency of capital as the prime criterion in banking activities; take the initiative in issuing bank notes on the basis of controlling production, the market and goods distribution and circulation; plan bank note issuances and combat passive issuances; and strive to put an end, at an early date, to inflation resulting from budget expenditures.

In terms of scale and scope, this is a large, comprehensive readjustment of prices, wages and money, a revamping of economic relations among the sectors and localities, among the central, local and grassroots levels, among the sectors of the economy and between capital formation and consumption. It is something which involves the livelihood of our entire people, our social production as a whole and not merely confined to the state-run economy as such.

Posing this problem at a time when our fluctuating economic situation has not yet stabilized, we realize that it is work that must be done immediately and in a positive, pressing and resolute manner. However, sound projects must be carefully calculated that are closely linked to production development, construction and the perfection of the new economic management mechanism.

Policies and organization for the implementation of tasks, in every step, must be done simultaneously and with a thorough understanding of the viewpoint of abolishing bureaucracy and subsidization; they must be based on projects and plans of action that are carefully calculated and consistent with actual conditions. Not only must positive results be envisioned, but temporarily disadvantageous economic, social and political consequences that might occur must also be anticipated so that positive measures can be devised to prevent, remedy and overcome them. Therefore, it is necessary to combat vacillation, hesitancy, rashness, and a simplistic approach in both thoughts and actions.

### III. Major Policies and Measures

#### 1. Prices.

On the basis of the objectives and guidelines presented above, the adjustments being made to the price scale (which include adjustments to relative values) and the price management system are as follows:

The general principle governing adjustments to the price scale is to establish prices that are consistent with value (the essence of which is the necessary quantity of social labor required) and consistent with the real purchasing power of the dong. The establishment of prices must be based on making the plan the center of operations, on implementing economic accounting and socialist business practices, on taking the initiative in applying market relations and the relationship between supply and demand.

In view of our country's conditions as it advances from what is predominately small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production and in view of the fact that agriculture continues to be the front of foremost importance, the price of rice must be made the standard for computing the other types of prices and the entire price scale.

a) All cost factors must be fully calculated and industrial production costs must be correctly determined, specifically:

--It is necessary to fully calculate new wage costs (V calculated at the new prices) of the material production sector;

--It is necessary to fully calculate the depreciation of fixed assets (C1) in the following manner: depreciation in the form of major repair work is to be fully calculated but, for the time being, capital depreciation is to be calculated at a depreciation rate based on the actual amount of machine and equipment capacity being utilized;

--It is necessary to correctly and fully calculate the value of materials (C2): the value of domestically produced materials must be calculated at the full base price; the value of imported materials must be based on the base import price and calculated in accordance with the new relative values of the internal balance of accounts and the domestic price policy.

While fully calculating all costs which currently lie outside production costs and cause prices to be artificially "lowered," it is also necessary to

immediately eliminate all irrational costs, all costs that do not conform with regulations and cause prices to be artificially "inflated."

Of utmost importance with regard to fully and correctly calculating production costs is the need to adjust the value of imported materials. To do this, it is necessary to correctly set the relative values within the internal balance of accounts mainly on the basis of national values and domestic relationships and reflect international prices through these relative values. The new relative values within the internal balance of accounts must be consistent with reality and insure profits from normal export-import business operations. They must be based on reorganizing and gradually establishing an increasingly efficient export-import structure and strengthening the management of exports and imports in exact accordance with the principle of a monopoly by the state of foreign trade and the exclusive management of foreign exchange by the state in order to combat competition in procurements and sales, which pushes up the base prices of exports. It is necessary to adopt a correct policy on collecting and compensating for the foreign trade differential and implement export-import duties.

b) Industrial wholesale prices (materials and consumer goods) must be adjusted on the basis of production costs that include all cost factors, must provide a satisfactory profit to the producer and must reflect the economic policy of the state.

Enterprise wholesale prices must fully cover production costs on the basis of rational ceilings and quotas (material ceilings, labor quotas and so forth) and provide for a satisfactory profit margin so that the enterprise can carry out expanded reproduction and the formation capital for the state. Enterprise wholesale prices and the enterprise financial system must encourage and create the conditions for the enterprise to achieve financial autonomy, take the initiative in developing its production and business and practice true economic accounting.

The industrial wholesale prices of materials and industrial consumer goods must reflect the capital formation and consumption policy of the party and state: from the sale of means of production, the state should collect no or only a limited amount of state-operated revenues (the state should especially not collect state-operated revenues from the sale of means of production that support agriculture and should, in some individual cases, even compensate for losses, considering this to be a way to invest in agriculture); from the sale of industrial consumer goods, the state should collect appropriate state-operated revenues based on the type of product being sold. Generally speaking, adjustments to wholesale prices must not reduce the revenue sources of the state, instead, these adjustments must result in a steady increase in the financial revenues of industry and the state. Adjustments to wholesale prices must take back the "price differential" that the central level has long been giving to localities and basic units through the supplying of supplies, energy and raw materials at low prices.

The prices at which imported materials and goods are sold must be consistent with domestic price relationships and domestic price policy. At the same

time, they must encourage the production of domestic materials to take the place of imports and encourage the economical use of imported materials.

On the basis of the state's exclusive management of and its monopoly in the business in primary materials and industrial consumer goods, the central state must set a uniform price (with regional differentials) for these types of goods.

It is necessary to fully include in production costs the costs of wages (V), the depreciation of fixed assets (C1) and the value of materials (C2), especially imported materials. Production and business units must be insured of a satisfactory profit and the state must be insured of accumulating the necessary capital. The prices of industrial goods must be adjusted upward and brought more in line with the value of these goods. However, the factors that form these prices must be closely controlled so that the new price levels are, generally speaking, acceptable to the economy and society. It is possible that the state might have to take the initiative and raise the prices of some types of goods to the level of their base prices in order to fully include costs. However, the retail prices of the state cannot be simultaneously raised across the board to a level that places them high above market prices. Because, the consequences of taking such a step upon the production and business of the sectors, localities and basic units, upon the standard of living and all aspects of economic and social life would be exceedingly complex. Therefore, we must have a thorough understanding of the principles and policies set forth above and correctly calculate the factors V, C1 and C2, especially the relative values within the balance of accounts--which are very important factors in establishing the new price scale and the relative value of industrial and agricultural prices.

The relative values within the balance of accounts must be calculated on the basis of procurements made primarily through economic contracts and at reasonable prices, prices that compensate the producer for costs and provide the producer with an appropriate profit, prices that reflect a correct relative value between the prices of industrial goods and agricultural products. With regard to exported industrial goods, relative value must be based on a rational organization of production and circulation and the production of exports of increasingly high quality and with increasingly high efficiency. At the same time, the management of exports and imports must be reorganized in accordance with the principle of dismantling subsidization and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices.

It is essential that we restructure industrial production, restructure export-import activities so that they are more efficient, reorganize circulation, correctly calculate quotas and eliminate all production and circulation costs that are irrational and do not conform with regulations. The relative values within the balance of accounts must be adjusted upwards to be consistent with the economic-financial situation and the purchasing power of the dong and to encourage exports. However, we definitely cannot tolerate prices and relative values "shooting upward" as a result of competition in procurements and sales, as a result of exporting and importing products at any price. Together with recalculating wholesale prices and in conjunction with initiating cost accounting, we must deal with a host of problems related to the structure and

organization of production and management on the national economic level as well as within each sector and basic unit with a view toward completely dismantling subsidization and implementing socialist business practices. As regards enterprises and products that are incurring losses, we must re-examine the products in question and, if necessary, shift these enterprises to the production of other products or even close them. We must restructure the circulation system (material supply, home trade, foreign trade...) and immediately eliminate all unnecessary intermediary elements so that goods flow from the place of production to the consumer by the most direct route possible and at reasonable prices. Taking the measures described above while making adjustments in distribution and circulation will permit us to set the relative values within the balance of accounts and the prices of materials at appropriate levels and still not cause any major disruptions of production, business, the market or prices.

c) Retail prices.

Retail prices must be set on the basis of the value of goods, with consideration given to supply and demand, to the relationship between money and goods, and must reflect the socio-economic policy of the party and state. The consumer goods retail price policy must distinguish among products on the basis of the nature of products and who the consumers of products are.

Generally speaking, industrial food products and industrial consumer goods must provide an appropriate amount of capital for the budget, except in the case of a few essential goods, which should be required to generate little or no capital. In the case of a number of the most basic and essential products, the state should accumulate no capital at all and can even compensate for losses under social policy (for example, medicine, milk for children, textbooks...).

In accordance with the above policy and on the basis of controlling goods and controlling the market and establishing the state's monopoly and exclusive management, the central state will set a uniform price for essential consumer goods (the price schedule for some products will be set by the central level) with appropriate regional price differentials, especially for grain, food products and a number of types of materials and goods that must be transported over long distances and for which transportation costs are high.

The retail prices of the industrial goods used to compute basic wages must be uniform nationwide. The prices of some grain and food products, such as rice, meat and so forth, must be calculated on the basis of the prices in the region where these prices are the lowest (as based on production and circulation costs calculated in accordance with the new price scale). When calculating the basic wage, the difference between the retail prices in this region and the higher retail prices in other regions is to be made up by a regional cost of living allowance. Specific prices and the regional differences among prices must be based on closely calculating the value of goods, with consideration given to market prices but must not be set at the level of market prices, which are currently very chaotic and, for many products, are abnormal and controlled by speculative activities. To limit the complex impact of prices, which are continuing to change, and in order to implement

planning and economic accounting, it is necessary to stabilize retail prices so that wages can be computed for a specific period of time and establish uniform wages in all regions of the country. When the situation demands a change, the state will take the initiative and adjust prices and wages accordingly.

The implementation of a retail price policy and mechanism such as the above demands that the supply of goods and the volume of money put into circulation in each locality and region be calculated and balanced. The wages of manual workers and civil servants must not be allowed to "float" and be regulated by the market. The free market must be transformed and tightly managed and speculation and black marketing must be eliminated. State financial and price discipline must be strengthened at all socialist business organizations, especially state-operated commerce organizations and marketing cooperatives. All illegal price increases are prohibited.

d) Agricultural product procurement prices must be set on the basis of recalculating production costs and insuring that producers cover their costs and earn a reasonable profit.

The agricultural product procurement price policy must reflect and help to implement the agricultural development line within a unified industrial-agricultural structure, reflect the correct relationship between industry and agriculture, that is, industry and agriculture working together, and reflect the correct relationship between capital formation and consumption so that both industry and agriculture develop and make appropriate contributions to the state and the living standards of farmers and manual workers are improved and are comparable.

Agricultural products, in general, especially rice, are the common products of farmers and workers. The production costs of agricultural products encompass both agricultural and industrial factors. Agricultural product prices encompass the essence of the relationship between industry and agriculture. Therefore, agricultural product production costs must be calculated on the basis of the following factors: natural productivity, the labor expended by farmers and the prices of industrial goods (the prices of supplies and essential consumer goods).

To fully calculate agricultural product production costs, the costs of the primary materials supplied for agricultural production by the state must be calculated at the new prices, which will remain stable for a specific period of time. The supplies obtained by farmers themselves (not state goods that are slipped onto the outside market) must be calculated at the actual prices paid. To achieve rational and relatively stable agricultural product production costs, industrial goods (especially means of production) must be concentrated for supply to farmers through economic contracts in order to prevent the continuation of the current situation in which the state supplies farmers with 40 to 50 percent of the supplies needed for production and farmers purchase the balance of what they need on the market (an important portion of which are products managed exclusively by the state, such as gasoline, oil, fertilizer and so forth that have been taken from the state and put on the outside market).

The wage factor of agricultural product production costs depends upon the value of the manday and is calculated on the basis of the number of mandays worked per hectare and on the yield and output per hectare minus the materials used and the taxes paid. The income of farmers, including the household economy, must correspond with the income of state farm workers (as calculated by region). The value of the manday is also largely dependent upon the retail prices of the state's industrial consumer goods.

In areas in which natural conditions (arable land, weather and so forth) are unfavorable, material-technical bases are underdeveloped and many difficulties are still being encountered in everyday life, the state must adopt a policy of paying higher procurement prices in conjunction with an investment or price support policy.

In areas that have favorable natural conditions, the major portion of class I land rent must be collected for the state through the price and tax policies.

Agricultural product procurement prices must encourage the production of primary products in those areas that have been planned by the state as specialized farming areas, encourage the development of new economic zones and encourage intensive cultivation and multicropping, with special importance attached to areas specializing in the production of rice.

To establish reasonable agricultural product procurement prices by region, it is first of all necessary to correctly calculate production costs by region, examine the market prices that exist within each region and view procurement prices from the perspective of a correct relationship between agriculture and industry, between farmers and the state. These prices must reflect the real value of products and reflect "price parity" when traded for industrial goods of the state. In particular, grain, our most important strategic product, must be exclusively managed and monopolized by the state and must not be allowed to be freely bought and sold; therefore, the free market price of grain cannot be taken as the standard. Moreover, the quantity of grain still in circulation on the free market only represents a very small percentage of the total quantity of grain available and is constantly under the impact of the law of supply and demand, especially at times of crop failures; therefore, this price does not represent the actual price or the correct value and is, in many cases, far removed from the real value. Therefore, we must immediately establish the state's exclusive management of and monopoly in the business in grain and primary agricultural products by means of a reasonable price policy and mode of procurements. We must establish a uniform procurement price mechanism (with regional differentials and price adjustments made with each production season) based on negotiations between the state and farmers. Through economic contracts, the state must control practically the entire supply of commodity grain (after leaving the necessary percentage for farmers) and the majority of other primary agricultural products.

e) The price management mechanism.

In view of the fact that the management of the entire economy is being shifted to a new management system, one which has the plan as its center, and full economic accounting and socialist business practices are being implemented,



the mechanism by which prices are formed and managed must be an integral part of the overall economic mechanism.

We must implement a uniform, single price policy and mechanism, with prices being set by the state, on the basis of controlling the plans for the production and distribution of important, essential products, transforming, managing and controlling the market and managing and controlling the flow of money.

We must establish a division of price management functions and responsibilities between central and local state agencies. The prices of important materials, the procurement prices paid for primary agricultural, forest and marine products and the selling prices of essential consumer goods must be set by the central level and be uniform nationwide (with regional differentials). For other products, the central level will set maximum prices so that the localities can charge prices that are best suited to their specific situation. The prices of certain commodities and products that are produced from local raw materials and circulated mainly on the local market will be set by the local administrations.

Once production costs have been recalculated, the new price system has been established and a rational division of functions and responsibilities has been implemented, strict price discipline must be maintained. Every change in prices must occur within the framework of state law.

## 2. Wages.

Wages must insure that wage earners and their children are able to replenish the energies expended in labor. In view of the state's current supply of products and financial sources, this requirement must be met gradually. However, even in the initial stage, the real wages of manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces must be improved compared to what they are now.

The minimum wage, 65 to 70 percent of which is spent on food, must provide the worker with at least 2,000 calories per day. On the basis of this need, the minimum wage must be recalculated in accordance with the new price scale and used as the basis for calculating a uniform basic wage system for the entire country.

In the present situation, it is necessary to maintain a reasonable differential between wage and salary scale levels, with the average differential being 1.3 times and the highest wage paid being 3.5 times higher than the minimum wage.

We must do away with supply prices, which are currently very low, recalculate nominal wages in accordance with new retail prices and pay wages in money.

A uniform, nationwide basic wage must be set for each occupation and work grade on the basis of state prices within the region in which the cost of living is the lowest.

In addition to the basic wage, the following allowances will be paid: a regional allowance set by the central level for regions that are experiencing many difficulties (the mountains, the border, the islands and so forth) and must attract much labor and a cost of living allowance set by the central level for each region based on the difference between the prices used to calculate the basic wage and the regional prices set by the state and on a cost of living index adjusted quarterly (once every 3 months).

The basic wage, the regional and cost of living allowances and other allowances (provided for under regulations) must be included in the wage fund and in production costs.

To effectively implement the new wage system, both a full supply of goods and a full supply of money are necessary. At the same time, the state must control the market and prices and socialist commerce must organize the circulation of goods well and gradually stabilize the purchasing power of the dong.

### 3. Finances and money.

a) The adjustments made to prices and wages will have a very large impact upon state finances and the state budget and cause them to correctly and more accurately reflect the efficiency of our social production (in both production and distribution-circulation). This will provide a very good basis for eventually establishing a national financial policy that is consistent with the current stage of development of the national economy.

The adjustments made to prices will cause major changes in the total volume and the structure of state finances (especially the budget) and the relationships between the state and production-business units, between the central and local levels, between the state and the population. In conjunction with changing the relative values within the internal balance of accounts and adjusting prices, the state must closely manage its finances, generate additional revenues and practice strict frugality in its expenditures in order to have the capital resources needed to meet rising expenditure requirements. Positive steps must be taken to achieve a balanced budget and discontinue the issuance of currency for the budget at an early date.

b) Adjusting prices and wages with the aim of dismantling subsidization and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices on the basis of establishing and implementing the financial autonomy of enterprises will cause prices, wages, finances, credit and so forth to fulfill their functions as measurements of efficiency better and their function as levers encouraging basic units to develop their production and expand their business while compelling them to calculate economic efficiency.

The entire enterprise financial system (as established under Resolution Number 15 b/HDBT) must be re-examined and adjusted to suit the new price scale and new wages. This system must fully reflect the spirit of dismantling subsidization, encouraging producers to adopt socialist business practices and demanding that the enterprise operate an efficient business as a prerequisite to earning a profit and acquiring the conditions needed to develop.

The major portion of investment capital and all of the liquid capital of the enterprise must be converted to the form of credit. Invested capital absolutely must yield the necessary economic returns.

Once state prices have been adjusted, enterprises must recompute their production costs and profits so that they correctly reflect the returns from production and business. When provided for under policy, the state will compensate for losses. In cases involving losses resulting from poor management or as a result of operating at any cost, ways must be found to restructure production and reorganize management in order to raise productivity, reduce production costs, reduce losses and eventually begin earning a profit. If ways cannot be found, the enterprise must reorient its production, be converted into a cooperative or be disbanded.

c) The adjustments being made to prices and wages this time will have a major impact upon the relationship between the central budget and the local budget. The revenue sources of the local budget will decline (because the major portion of the price differential, that is, the difference between the prices of the materials supplied by the state and commerce business prices within the locality, will no longer exist). Meanwhile, expenditure requirements will increase (for example, expenditures on wages). As a result, the state must re-examine the percentages that regulate allocations to the local budget to insure that necessary expenditure requirements are met in the spirit of practicing thorough economization.

The division of budget management responsibilities between the central and local levels must be based on the view of all three levels exercising ownership together, must insure balance among the different types of interests (the interests of society, the collective and the individual) and must enable and compel the localities to make the maximum effort to develop local potentials in order to increase their revenue sources and meet their needs. The central level will not subsidize the local level.

d) Various, well coordinated measures must be taken to attract idle money, increase the turnover rate of money and control and determine the volume of cash in circulation:

--Converting the operations of the bank to the socialist business system;

--Improving the savings deposits system and the government bond and lottery policies;

--Improving the interest rate policy for savings and credit;

--Improving the procedures for the opening of accounts and the depositing of money in the bank by cooperatives and private producers and businessmen;

--Making use of warehouse inventories and accelerating sales in order to generate revenues;

--Expanding the activities of the credit cooperatives and people's credit funds;

--Strengthening the discipline with which cash is used within the state sector and the state-operated economy, thereby limiting "unrestricted spending."

The resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on prices, wages and money represents the essence of the experience that has been gained by our party and state over a period of many years in this field, represents a strong and profound change in the positions and policies of our party, not only those regarding prices and wages, but also those that pertain to commerce, finances, money and the planning and management system and has the aims of completely dismantling bureaucracy and subsidization, shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices and creating favorable conditions for bringing our country's economy into a new stage of development.

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## THE FORTY YEARS OF BUILDING AND DEVELOPING THE ROLE OF THE PEOPLE'S COURT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 39-44

[Article by Pham Hung, chief justice of the Supreme People's Court]

[Text] I. The Role of the People's Court Within the Apparatus of Our State

The state not only makes laws, it also organizes the specialized agencies which insure that the law is strictly enforced. One of these agencies is the people's court. Therefore, the court came into existence along with the state. The state manages society by means of laws. "That it manages by means of laws means that the state promulgates laws, publicizes and explains laws, closely inspects compliance with the law, compels compliance by persons who do not willingly comply and appropriately punishes anyone who violates the law. Through the resolute implementation of the socialist system of law, the state manifests its power and management effectiveness, upholds the system of collective ownership of the people, establishes a communal life of discipline and order and prevents and eliminates all abuses, all negative phenomena, all ills and vices in society."(1)

Lenin frequently stressed that in the struggle to protect the people's administration and restore order, suppression and compulsion are absolutely necessary. He frequently criticized the lack of resolve of the soviet administration and pointed out that the proletarian dictatorship must be "an iron dictatorship that possesses revolutionary bravery and takes swift and ruthless action when it is necessary to suppress exploiters as well as hoodlums."(2) He considered the court to be a "model of suppression and compulsion."(3) Because, within the state apparatus, only the court has the authority to convict and enforce penalties upon persons who violate the law.

Immediately after the successful August Revolution, our state established military courts that were directly presided over by cadres of the party to try crimes against the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that occurred prior to or after 19 August 1945. Next, civilian courts were established to try criminal and civil cases. However, because the laws of the new system were at first incomplete, the 10 October 1945 decree of the state temporarily permitted the enforcement of the old system, except for those articles of law that worked against independence and the democratic republic. As a result, some cadres on the civilian courts at that time, the majority of

whom were former intellectuals still under the influence of the bourgeois legal system, applied the old laws in a mechanical way that did not meet the requirements of the struggle by the working people to win back the rights taken from them by the exploiting classes. They viewed the principle of "the trial independence of the courts" from the perspective of the three separate but equal powers of the bourgeois system, consequently, at some places, the court was the adversary of the people's committee and was far removed from party leadership, which led to deviations and mistakes in trials.

In 1948, the party's SU THAT Newspaper harshly criticized these concepts. In 1950 and 1951, our party and state gave special attention to organizing the study of the lines and policies of the party and the views of Marxism-Leninism concerning the state and the law by court cadres, especially judges. The organization of the civilian courts was strengthened. Worker-peasant cadres were assigned as judges and trials began to be conducted with the participation of people's assessors. As a result, the civilian courts came to be called people's courts. The military courts were disbanded and their duties were turned over to the people's courts. Within the army, military personnel who committed crimes were tried by courts martial.

On 14 July 1960, in conjunction with promulgating the new Constitution, the National Assembly ratified the Law on the Organization of the People's Courts. This event marked a new stage of development in the organization and activities of the people's courts.

Under the Law on the Organization of the People's Courts, the court sector is organized as a complete system that extends from the central to the local levels. The people's court system consists of the Supreme People's Court, the people's courts of the provinces and the municipalities that are directly subordinate to the central level, the people's courts of the districts, precincts and cities of the province and the military courts (which replaced courts martial) within the army. The Supreme People's Court, which is the highest trial body, has the task of guiding the local people's courts and the military courts to insure uniform application of the law and trial policy and supervising the trial proceedings of all people's courts.

On 3 July 1981, on the basis of reviewing the experience gained in the 20 years of operation of the people's court sector and developing upon the 1960 Law on the Organization of the People's Court, the National Assembly ratified a new law on the organization of the people's courts, one which provides the following additional stipulations: the procedures for a retrial in cases involving legally binding verdicts and decisions concerning which new details have been uncovered; broader trial authority for district level courts; the responsibility of the people's courts and the other agencies of the state in the enforcement of verdicts; the coordination between the people's courts and public security and control agencies in preventing crime; the coordination between the people's courts and social organizations in developing upon the results of trials and enforcing verdicts; and the authority of the courts to request that state agencies rectify shortcomings and close loopholes in management that provide cause or conditions for crime.

Thus, the principles on the organization and operation of the people's courts have gradually been fully defined, thereby insuring that the courts can fulfill their role as the state's effective tool of dictatorship and as the tool that most effectively teaches the discipline of the state and the rules of society. Through the accurate trial of cases, the courts penalize defendants and educate interested parties, deter those who might commit a crime and teach the people to consciously obey the law.

## II. The Popular Nature of the Organization and Operations of the People's Courts

The courts of our country are called people's courts because the work of the courts serves the interests of the people. This popular nature is reflected in both the organization and the operations of the courts:

--Replacing the appointment of judges with the election of judges.

Following the successful August Revolution, because we lacked the conditions needed to implement the election of judges, judges were appointed by the government. In 1960, on the basis of the Law on the Organization of the People's Courts, we implemented the election of judges. The chief justice of the Supreme People's Court is elected by the National Assembly. The deputy justices of the Supreme People's Court are appointed by the Council of State. The chief justices, deputy justices and assessors of the local people's courts are elected by the people's council on the same level. Persons elected to the court can be removed from office by the agency that elected them if they prove to be unworthy of the people's trust. The election of assessors implements the right of the people to be the collective masters of the agencies of their dictatorship. The representatives of the people elect persons in whom the people have trust. Conversely, elected assessors have a higher sense of responsibility to the people. Lenin considered the principle that "all assessors be elected from among workers and only by workers"(4) to be a principle of a class nature.

--The people's assessors system is a form of participation by the people in the management of the state.

In accordance with the Law on the Organization of the People's Courts, the people's assessor of the Supreme People's Court is appointed by the Council of State, the assessors of the local people's courts are appointed by the people's council on the same level and assessors may be removed from office if they prove unworthy of being people's assessors. During trials, the authority of assessors is equal to that of the judge in every respect. The presiding officers of the court in a trial of the first instance include an assessor and two people's assessors. The people's assessors help insure the accuracy of trial proceedings mainly by being close to the actual circumstances of the case and can voice to the court the requirements and aspirations of the people.

--The people's courts are responsible and report on their work to the executive agencies that elected them.

The people's courts must report and are responsible to the representative agencies, which are also agencies of state power, on the same level. This is an expression of the principle of democratic centralism and insures that these agencies supervise the work of the courts and promptly resolve problems that must be resolved in order to intensify the effort to prevent and fight crime and violations of the law.

The popular nature of the operations of the court are also seen in the facts that the procedures for initiating legal proceedings in a people's court are simple and legal fees are very low in order to not pose an obstacle to the people in the exercise of their right to initiate legal proceedings.

In our country, in contrast to the capitalist countries, interested parties have the right to initiate legal action on their own and need not be represented by a lawyer. The opinions of interested parties are carefully examined regardless of whether they are or are not represented by a lawyer. And, the courts do take the initiative and enforce legally binding judgments without being requested to do so by interested parties.

In their work, officers of the people's courts maintain close contact with the people and do not simply perform all of their work from their desks. Officers of the court go down to the basic level to investigate cases, rely upon the mass organizations to educate and encourage concerned parties to reconcile their differences, enforce judgments, etc.

### III. The Growth of the People's Court Sector

During the past 40 years, especially since the adoption of the Law on the Organization of the People's Courts (1960), the people's court sector has been organized into a system that extends from the central to the local levels. Under the close leadership of the party and the supervision of the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels, the court sector has coordinated with concerned sectors and taken positive steps to complete its task, to support the political task in the various stages of the revolution. It has severely punished counter-revolutionaries, hoodlums and gangsters who have committed serious violations of life, health and property against the state and the people and deviant, degenerate elements who have abused their public positions, have engaged in embezzlement and theft of public property, accepted bribes and intimidated the masses. They have appropriately punished irresponsible cadres who have caused serious harm to production or the lives of the people. The courts have shown clemency toward criminals who have committed a crime but confess, provide accurate information, report their accomplices, atone for their crime and voluntarily repair or pay for damages caused and persons who have committed a less serious offense and repent their crime.

Together with trying criminal cases, the people's courts also try civil and domestic cases.

In conjunction with conducting trials with the aim of combating crimes that have already occurred, the courts also give appropriate attention to the prevention of crime. This is evident in such things as the efforts made to



propagandize and publicize the law among cadres and the people and the mobile court sessions that are held through which the people are taught the concept of obeying the law.

In view of the fact that our judicial law is still incomplete and not well coordinated, the court sector, especially the Supreme People's Court, has attached very much importance to reviewing the practical aspects of criminal, civil and domestic trials and matters regarding the initiation of criminal and civil proceedings, the enforcement of judgments and judicial law. These reviews, which have been in the form of projects that have closely combined scientific research and practice, have had the effect of guiding the various levels of the courts in resolving difficulties and problems encountered in their work and have contributed to the drafting of important codes of law, such as the Criminal Code adopted by the National Assembly, the Criminal Trial Law, the Civil Code, the Civil Trial Law and the Law on Marriage and the Family.

By means of trial activities, the enforcement of judgments and propaganda and education in the law, the people's courts have helped to protect the socialist system and the right of collective ownership of the working people, protect socialist property, protect the life and property of the people and maintain social order and safety, thereby contributing to the successful performance of the two tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

Through their activities, the people's courts have helped to educate citizens who are loyal to the fatherland, loyal to socialism, who strictly comply with the law and labor discipline, who respect the rules of social life, who prevent and fight crimes and other violations of the law, thereby helping to mold the new, socialist man.

However, besides the results that have been achieved and compared to the requirements of the revolution, the people's court sector has also exhibited the following shortcomings and weaknesses:

--The organization of the court sector is not strong. At some places, this organization is not truly pure. The corps of cadres, especially the corps of assessors on the various levels, is still weak and lacking sufficient personnel and does not meet the requirements involved in strengthening the socialist system of law and struggling to prevent and fight crime.

--Generally speaking, trials are behind schedule and some matters are still being pursued with a lack of resolve. The coordination among the public security sector, the organs of control and the judicial sector is not close and this has affected the effort to uphold the law with the combined strength of the tool of dictatorship.

--The enforcement of judgments is not strict. There are still many cases in which judgments are handed down but not enforced or fully enforced, as a result of which trials lose some of their impact and the people's confidence in the fairness of the law is reduced.

During the past several years, the implementation of the resolution of the 5th Congress and the resolutions of the party plenums, especially the 8th Plenum on dismantling the management system characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices, has brought about new changes in economic development and the effort to stabilize the living conditions of the people. However, the schemes and actions of the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists together with objective and subjective difficulties of ours have had a negative impact upon our country's social situation. In the face of this situation, the entire people's court sector must, in 1985 and the years ahead, gain a more thorough understanding of the guidelines and specifics set forth in the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions of the various party plenums; further intensify all aspects of its operations and do so in a manner that reflects high quality and efficiency; and help to strengthen the socialist system of law while contributing to the struggle to defeat the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage, the struggle against embezzlement, theft and crimes against socialist property, the struggle against speculation, black marketing, the manufacture of fake goods, illegal businesses and disruption of the market and the struggle against actions that seriously violate the life and property of the people and actions that violate the people's right of collective ownership.

To carry out the above tasks, the entire court sector must perform the following several jobs of primary importance well:

1. It must closely coordinate with the control, public security and other sectors in order to further improve the quality of trials; insure that trials are conducted quickly and in exact accordance with the law; insure that cases involving serious crimes are appropriately prosecuted; insure that criminals do not go unpunished and that innocent persons are not prosecuted; insure that civil and domestic disputes are resolved in a manner that conforms with both reason and sentiment; and insure that trials have the effect of preventing crime.
2. It must do more by way of guiding, supervising and inspecting the enforcement of judgments, insure that legally binding judgments are fully enforced and take determined steps to combat negative phenomena in the enforcement of judgments.
3. It must intensify and improve the quality of its control work, inspections and supervision as they relate to trials in order to promptly detect and correct mistakes and gain experience. At the same time, it must conduct additional preliminary and final reviews of special matters pertaining to trial proceedings and the enforcement of judgments with the aim of raising the professional standards of cadres.
4. It must closely coordinate with the legal sector and take positive steps to strengthen the court sector, the key to which is the training of cadres. It must build a court sector that is pure, solid and strong. Court cadres, most importantly, assessors, must be competent and possess good ethics and personal qualities. Steps must be taken to quickly build the people's courts

on the precinct and district levels so that they are fully capable of conducting trials in accordance with the provisions of the law.

5. It must closely coordinated with concerned sectors and actively participate in widely propagandizing and publicizing the Criminal Code among the people. At the same time, the cadres of the entire court sector must be given a full understanding of the spirit and content of the Criminal Code so that they can apply and enforce it correctly, thereby bringing about a new change in the struggle to prevent and fight crime.

We are firmly confident that, under the party's correct leadership, the struggle being waged by the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship state, which includes the system of people's courts on the various levels, and by all our people to strengthen the socialist system of law will make worthy contributions to the successful performance of the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Hien phap moi, hien phap cua che do lam chi tap the xa hoi chu nghia"[The New Constitution, the Constitution of the System of Socialist Collective Ownership], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, pp 23-24.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Voleum 36, p 240.
3. Ibid., p 241.
4. V.I. Lenin: "On the Socialist System of Law," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 83.

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INTENSIFYING THE EFFORT TO EDUCATE AND ORGANIZE THE PEOPLE AND YOUTHS IN  
FULFILLING THE MILITARY OBLIGATION TO DEFEND THE FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 45-49, 57

[Article by Lieutenant General Nguyen Nam Khanh]

[Text] Today, defending the fatherland is not only a matter of obligation and responsibility, but has also become a profound consciousness, a sacred sentiment on the part of the citizen of Vietnam. In the several consecutive decades they have spent fighting enemy aggressors, generation after generation of our people, especially youths, have taken their turn bearing arms in defense of the fatherland, recording countless brilliant feats of arms and bringing greater glory to the nation's heroic history of resistance against foreign aggression.

Today, in the face of the schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary powers, all our people and all our armed forces, under the leadership of the party, must continue to perform their two closely related strategic tasks. "Socialist construction must achieve practical results so that our country becomes strong in every respect and is strong in every situation if we are to possess all the strength we need to win victory over every enemy war of aggression and firmly defend the fatherland. Conversely, only by strengthening the country's defenses, defeating the enemy's wide-ranging sabotage and guaranteeing that the country is always firmly defended can we achieve the conditions needed to successfully build socialism."(1)

To contribute to strengthening the country's defense capabilities, we must do a better job of educating the people and youths in the Military Service Law and gaining their strict compliance with this law. Recently, appropriate attention has not been given to this work at a number of places. Some places maintain that this obligation is compulsory and have, therefore, given light attention to educational and organizational efforts. Some places have only performed educational and organizational work among youths well, not among the general population. Some places consider their work of educating and organizing the people and youths in the fulfillment of the military obligation to be complete once inductees have been turned over to the army and do not see the continued efforts that must be made. And, other places attach importance

to delivering inductees to the army but give light attention to receiving discharged military personnel who return to the locality upon the completion of their service. Facts have shown that educating the people and youths in their military obligation involve many different aspects. They are not simply a matter of performing such professional jobs as organizing the registration of forces, drafting inductees, organizing the delivery of inductees to the army or welcoming discharged military personnel returning to the locality and so forth, rather, they essentially entail a widespread, practical political campaign conducted throughout the party and among all the people with the aim of building a high spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism, building upon the nation's tradition of tenacious, unyielding resistance against foreign aggression and mobilizing and organizing the various strata of the people, especially youths, in exercising their right to be the masters of the destiny of the fatherland. It can be said that this is a process of conducting activities that are coordinated in many ways, of performing a succession of jobs in many different phases and stages: one stage is preparation for the next and the next stage incorporates and develops upon the results of the preceding stage while again preparing for the next. If, within the locality, this educational and organizational work leads to a movement among the people and youths to eagerly fulfill their military obligation, a movement that provides the necessary number of qualified inductees, youths will have good conditions in their favor for training and fighting well during their stay in the army. The education and training of youths within the army are of extremely important significance. Receiving well qualified youths as inductees and educating and training them well during their stay in the army--these have a strong impact upon the course of development of youths in their participation in the tasks of building and defending the fatherland. Once they have fulfilled their military obligation, properly welcoming youths back to the locality also has a major impact upon youths. It inspires and encourages them to continue to uphold the tradition and character of the soldier of the people's army and actively participate in building the locality. At the same time, it creates better conditions for the locality to continue to fulfill the military obligation. It can be said that the above are the three stages of the process of fulfilling the military obligation. Each stage has its own position and importance but all three of these stages are closely interrelated and affect one another.

On the basis of the successes and the continuing shortcomings of recent years, especially the vivid, profound realities of the efforts to mobilize the people and youths to fulfill their military obligation, we see a need to perform the following several jobs well:

1. Closely combining, on a regular basis, efforts to heighten the spirit of socialist patriotism and the sense of being the masters of the country with teaching and organizing strict compliance with the Military Service Law and making all the necessary preparations in order to insure that youths are ready to fulfill their obligation to defend the fatherland.

The Military Service Law states: "Defending the socialist fatherland is the sacred obligation and precious right of the citizen. The citizen has the duty to fulfill his military obligation and participate in building the national defense system." In order for this obligation to be properly fulfilled, it is

first of all necessary to concern ourselves with mass education and agitation with the aim of giving everyone a clear understanding of the situation, the tasks of the revolution and the obligation and responsibility of everyone to build the people's armed forces in order to defend the fatherland in the new stage. As regards the young generation, efforts must focus on those fundamental issues that are of foremost importance, that is, teaching and cultivating revolutionary ideals and goals, giving direction to their thoughts and actions and developing their intelligence so that they clearly see the historic responsibility that is theirs and make every effort to contribute as much as possible, to make the highest possible contribution to building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Youths must be clearly shown that the constant threat being posed by enemy forces today to the independence of our fatherland is a strike against the survival of the nation, against the most sacred sentiments of each person. In the face of this situation, no patriotic citizen can hesitate or be unwilling to lay down his life for the fatherland. Anyone who wavers or hesitates will be crushed by the enemy. Anyone who evades or on his own initiative withdraws from his combat position commits a crime and harms the nation's patriotic tradition. Some youths who are currently fulfilling their military obligation are envious of the tranquil life being lived in the rear area and do not take as their greatest source of pride and happiness the fact that the working people are living a quiet and happy life.

However, in our ideological work, we must realize the full complexity of the new situation. Inducting youths when the country is experiencing complex changes and difficulties demands that we put much more effort into our educational and organizational work, that we adopt suitable themes and approaches that have an impact upon the thoughts and feelings of those who remain at home as well as those who leave for the army.

In this educational and organizational work, themes and forms of activity must be employed that are well suited to each specific area and each different category of youths in order to promptly encourage the positive revolutionary factors of the masses, struggle against misunderstandings and mistakes that adversely affect the desire of youths to join the army and take measures to deal with, in a strict but fair manner, such phenomena as evasion of duty, bribery, protecting persons from the draft, hesitating for fear of offending someone and not setting a good example in fulfilling the military obligation.

One very important requirement in educational and organizational work is that of giving the various strata of the people and youths a thorough understanding of the basic contents of the Military Service Law. It is this understanding that forms the basis upon which each person establishes the direction his actions will take and struggles against violations of the law. One good approach that many places have taken is to make public the lists of the names of those persons who are required to take physical examinations, those persons who meet induction requirements and those persons who are being deferred and, on this basis, encourage the masses to voluntarily comply with the law, supervise its implementation by state agencies and struggle against negative phenomena among the people. Taking this approach creates the conditions for the masses to exercise their right of ownership in defending the fatherland

and insures fairness, unity and consensus in the fulfillment of the military obligation. At the same time, attention must be given to combating each psychological warfare argument and the acts of sabotage of the enemy against the military draft, to promptly prosecuting violations of the law and strictly enforcing the socialist system of law.

In conjunction with political and ideological education, it is necessary to intensify the teaching of national defense subjects and closely combine universal military training and the establishment of a regimented way of life within schools with launching a widespread physical education and sports movement among all the people. This will make positive contributions to molding within youths the sense of defending the country, endurance and the ability to engage in military activities so that they are prepared to join the armed forces.

One factor that has a clear impact in developing a positive spirit and attitude on the part of both the people and youths toward the fulfillment of the military obligation is for all levels and sectors to concern themselves with implementing the army's rear area policies; create good conditions for discharged military personnel returning to the locality to quickly find a job, stabilize their lives, find contentment and enthusiastically put the full measure of their zeal and ability to work building the rear area; and give appropriate attention to retired and disabled military personnel. We must correct the practices of only worrying about implementing these policies when a new phase of inductions is drawing near or maintaining that every household must fulfill the military obligation, that "all share equally," without realizing the full significance and importance of implementing the army's rear area policies.

2. Heightening the sense of responsibility and tapping the strength of all levels, sectors and mass organizations in the work of educating and organizing the people and youths for the purpose of fulfilling the military obligation to defend the fatherland.

In recent years, facts have shown that in those localities in which the various party committee echelons provide close leadership, the various levels of government provide the necessary guidance, the mass organizations conduct positive activities, military agencies fulfill their staff function well and the courts and organs of control conduct practical activities that make a positive contribution toward enforcing the law, the induction of youths is carried out well. When, on the basis of the overall plan for the various stages involved in the fulfillment of the military obligation and a specific division of labor, each organization performs the task assigned to it well and closely coordinates with other organizations, high results are achieved in educational and organizational work. Of course, this work must assume a variety of interesting forms, such as conducting political activities on the occasion of the celebration of major holidays to propagandize the Military Service Law; organizing contests with the aim of having participants gain an understanding of the tradition of struggle of the party, the Youth Union, the army and the locality; delivering talks on tradition over mobile loudspeaker systems; showing films, organizing theatrical festivals, conducting national defense physical education activities...or using the nomination form of

inductions, that is, having the administration, mass organizations and families nominate youths for induction. Experience has shown that the propaganda activities, encouragement and assistance of the Youth Union, the Women's Union and parents have a major impact in educational and organizational work, especially when there is a movement on the basic level among the working people to encourage their sons and daughters to join the army. Not leaving everything up to the local military agency and developing upon the role and heightening the responsibility of the organizations within the locality, these are the factors of foremost importance in mobilizing each youth of draft age to voluntarily join the army and in curbing negative phenomena.

3. Clearly recognizing the position and responsibility of the army during the period that youths are on active duty: as a place that develops fighting skills and as a great school training youths to be new, socialist persons.

The resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party pointed out: "We must mount a thorough and widespread educational effort to give the people and youths a clear understanding of the Military Service Law and prepare the young generation to join the armed forces and, through the great school that is the army, train themselves to be new, socialist persons."(2)

The army has been assigned by the party, the state and the people the great honor and heavy responsibility of educating and training the youths who are currently participating in the fight. Although the amount of time spent by youths on active duty is not long, it does provide one of the best opportunities for educating and training them to be soldiers who possess fighting skills, a strong will and high determination, a good spirit of discipline and the ability to complete the task assigned to them and to be new, socialist persons who continue to complete their tasks in production and work when they return to their localities upon their discharge from the army.

The realities of many units have clearly shown that in order for the army to truly be the great school of youths, it is first of all necessary for every unit to be "a small family" in which everyone loves and unites with everyone else, in which everyone is equal. Every cadre and commander must set a bright example, display the fullest possible love for soldiers and always make every effort to fulfill his task for the sake of the progress of the soldier, for the sake of victory on the battlefield and the strength and dependability of the rear area. They must rid themselves of the thinking of doing that which is easy while ignoring that which is difficult, not be hot tempered or rough and not lean more toward punishment than toward persuasion and influence. The attitude of the commander toward the initial difficulties and shortcomings of new soldiers must be one of calm, of understanding extended as a comrade, as a member of the same unit. He must patiently teach and help them to become skilled persons. In view of the responsibility that is theirs as senior personnel, veteran cadres and soldiers must set a good example for new soldiers to follow. The regular exchange of experience in the education and management of new soldiers within the corps of cadres on the various echelons and throughout the unit plays a practical role in helping new soldiers become accustomed to the way of life and style of the army and learn experiences that have been gained in work and combat, creates the conditions for them to



complete increasingly difficult tasks and gives them peace of mind and a feeling of closeness to their unit. At the same time, promptly commending and praising the good attributes and taking the initiative in correcting the existing weaknesses of new soldiers are extremely necessary and must be given appropriate attention.

It can be said that every unit, regardless of its mission and regardless of where it is stationed, can, if it is fully aware of the responsibility of the army--as the great school training the young generation--find positive and effective ways to educate youths, regardless of how difficult or adverse its circumstances might be, regardless of how great its shortages might be, regardless of whether it is receiving soldiers from the city or the country, from an ethnic minority area or an area in which the population is Catholic. Actually, practically all of the youths accepted by some units are youths who have committed the shortcoming of having to be remobilized. However, after spending only a short amount of time reeducating and helping them, these youths have come to realize their shortcomings and mistakes, readopt the role and responsibility of the soldier of the people's army and go on to complete the task assigned to them.

The factors of foremost importance in insuring that the army is the great school of youths are: love for soldiers, love for the other members of their units, the ability to manage and educate soldiers and good examples on the part of the corps of command cadres; the stability and strength of the party organization; the positive role played by the Youth Union organization; and the realities of the fight against the enemy.

4. Giving attention to building basic units that are strong and solid in every respect is a sure guarantee that national defense potentials will be increased, that the work of educating and organizing the people and youths in the fulfillment of their military obligation will be performed well.

The basic unit is the place that reflects, in concrete terms, through the revolutionary actions of the masses, the performance of the two strategic tasks, the place that supplies manpower and materiel to meet the requirements involved in building and defending the fatherland. Therefore, without villages and subwards that are solid and strong (politically, economically and in terms of national defense and security), it is difficult to carry out inductions well, difficult to meet the numerical and qualitative requirements of inductions and difficult to thoroughly organize the delivery of inductees and the welcoming of soldiers returning to the locality.

In recent years, clearly aware of the importance of the basic unit, many provinces and municipalities have assigned additional cadres to work closely with basic units, have established and increased the number of strong basic units and have focused their efforts on assisting weak units, on completely eliminating weaknesses and deficiencies, on quickly achieving greater uniformity among basic units.

The process of educating and organizing the people and youths for the purpose of fulfilling the military obligation at basic units is also the process of building upon the role and function of the various levels and sector, from the

precinct and district to the basic levels, especially tapping the activism, initiative and creativity of each basic unit, in order to achieve the full strength needed to complete this task well.

Recent facts have shown that in the course of endeavoring to educate and organize the people and youths for the purpose of fulfilling the military obligation, many basic units have improved the quality of their corps of cadres and party members and strengthened the organizations of the party and government and the mass organizations. At places where economic life is better than average or the revolutionary tradition is long-standing, inductions can also be difficult to carry out if the efforts to mobilize and educate the masses are relaxed.

As regards weak, deficient basic units, the causes of their problems must be correctly determined in order to encourage them to make an effort to improve themselves. At the same time, additional, concrete assistance must be provided by the upper levels, especially the level directly above the basic unit. However, one level must not take over the work of another and determined steps must be taken to eliminate the practices of doing whatever suits convenience, of doing that which is easy while ignoring that which is difficult, of taking inductees from places where the movement is better than elsewhere to compensate for places at which the movement is weak but without taking positive measures to assist weak and deficient basic units, without creating specific conditions for them to improve themselves and complete their recruiting task.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 42.
2. Ibid., p 45.

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## FORTY YEARS OF BUILDING AND DEVELOPING OUR COUNTRY'S COLLEGE AND VOCATIONAL MIDDLE SCHOOL SECTOR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 50-57

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Tu]

[Text] Prior to the 1945 August Revolution, the French colonialists established a number of colleges and academies in Hanoi to serve all three countries of Indochina. Enrollment in these schools was only about 200 students per year. At its peak (1942), total enrollment was only 1,085 students. All instruction and learning at these schools were in the French language. All of their professors were Frenchmen (about 50). Only a small number of assistant instructors was Vietnamese.

Since the successful 1945 August Revolution and under the leadership of the party, college and vocational middle school education has continuously developed and has recorded large achievements. We have built a socialist system of college and vocational middle schools and classes. Vietnamese is the language used in instruction in all schools and on all levels of study and has been enriched by a relatively complete body of scientific and technical terms. This system of schools and classes has served as a solid base for the training of practically all college and vocational middle school trained scientific and technical cadres and has, in recent years, even provided post-graduate training for cadres. Even during the years of the resistance against the French colonialists and, in particular, during the extremely violent years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the college and vocational middle school sector grew continuously, in terms of both the rate and scale of its development. For example, in the North during the 1964-1965 school year, there were 16 colleges and academies with 2,750 instructors and 29,300 students and 112 vocational middle schools with 3,000 teachers and 42,000 students. During the 1969-1970 school year, there were 42 colleges and academies with 7,700 instructors and 75,000 students and 213 vocational middle schools with 6,900 teachers and 127,750 students. In roughly 10 years (1965-1974), more than 100,000 students graduated from colleges and academies and 200 students from vocational middle schools, thus providing an important force of scientific and technical cadres to support the resistance against the United States for national salvation and support socialist construction.

Following the complete liberation of the South and the reunification of the fatherland, the college and vocational middle school sector entered a new stage of development. In only a short amount of time, we took over and transformed the colleges and vocational schools of the former regime in the South and established a unified, socialist college and vocational middle school system nationwide. The network of schools and classes and the sector and trade structure of the schools have been adjusted and restructured to be consistent with the new stage of the revolution. At some places in the South that once had no schools or classes, new colleges have been opened: the Da Nang Polytechnic College, the Central Highlands College, the Marine Products College (Nha Trang) and many academies and vocational middle schools.

In 1976, due to cadre training requirements and the growth of the corps of instructors and scientific research cadres, we began to provide domestic post-graduate cadre training. Today, there are 49 facilities providing post-graduate cadre training in 132 specialized fields to more than 700 research students. Some 310 scientific-technical cadres have successfully defended their masters thesis here within our country.

As of mid-1985, the country had 93 college-academy schools and classes with 18,720 teachers and 115,600 students in 200 courses encompassing 1,700 subjects and 278 vocational middle schools with 11,000 teachers and 100,000 students (+). Among college-academy teachers, 9.1 percent are Ph.D.'s or hold Masters Degrees, 384 are professors or assistant professors, more than 4,800 are women and 26 percent are party members.

Since 1959, in coordination with the system of formal training, we have been opening on-the-job classes and today have 82 training facilities and more than 35,000 college educated cadres and nearly 40,000 cadres with a middle school education who received their training on the job. Many provinces have established on-the-job training centers. Some 70 to 80 percent of the students attending the on-the-job classes next to enterprises are direct production workers. This form of education has made an important contribution to raising the specialized and professional standards of workers, cadres and party members from the central to the basic levels. The students attending on-the-job classes currently account for roughly 25 percent of the total number of college students.

During the past several years, in keeping with the Political Bureau resolution on educational reform and the resolutions and directives of the Party Central Committee, the colleges and vocational middle schools have intensified the teaching of politics, ideology and ethics, improved their training programs and methods, increased the amount of experimental work, scientific research and productive labor being performed and closely linked the school to the socio-economic goals of the entire country and each locality. As a result, positive changes have begun to occur in the quality of education.

Over the past several decades, our college and vocational middle school education system has trained a large corps of scientific and technical cadres, all of whom have come from the backgrounds of manual workers, working farmers and revolutionary cadres, in all the sectors and trades necessary for economic and cultural development and the development of the national defense system.

These cadres have displayed a spirit of enthusiasm, dedication and sacrifice in supporting socialist construction and the struggle to win independence and defend the fatherland. In keeping with the view of our party concerning cadre work, the college and vocational middle school sector has gradually brought about a fundamental change in the social and class makeup of its students. Practically all students on all levels of study come from families of manual workers, farmers or socialist intellectuals or are children of the working people. Through a variety of measures, including organizing college preparatory schools and classes, the percentage of students who are members of ethnic minorities, students who have experience in combat, in productive labor or work and female students has been steadily increasing (at some schools, the students eligible under this policy account for 60 percent of the enrollment). We have arranged for management cadres, activists and skilled persons to study and learn key sector with the aim of selecting qualified cadres and building a corps of cadres who possess good personal qualities and the skills needed to serve the revolution. As of 1984, our corps of cadres included 5,000 Ph.D.'s and holders of Masters Degrees, 3,500 cadres who have a college-academy education and 6,700 cadres who have a vocational middle school education.(1) Of those cadres who have a college education, 29 percent are women, 3.5 percent are members of a minority and more than 6 percent were trained in the socialist countries.

Generally speaking, the period during which quantitative demands were most pressing is now behind us. While continuing to provide an appropriate number of additional cadres to meet the needs of each sector and locality, especially those sectors and localities in which there is still a shortage of cadres, the most important need now is to attach full importance to the quality of training and increase the efficiency of training.

During the past several decades, the colleges and vocational middle schools have made positive contributions to cultural, scientific and technical development and resolved many problems raised by the realities of the revolution by means of disseminating scientific and technical knowledge, conducting scientific-technical experiments and research and applying scientific achievements and technological advances (commonly called scientific-technical advances) in production and everyday life. Since 1980, the colleges have managed more than 200 scientific projects within the key programs of the state, 292 projects on the ministerial level and 1,680 projects on the school level. Of these projects, about 20 percent have been projects in the social sciences and 15 percent have been projects in educational science. The remainder of these projects have been in the fields of industry, agriculture, living conditions and national defense. More results of scientific research are being applied in production, everyday life and national defense with each passing day. The scientific and technical research of the schools has been more closely tied to the localities and basic production units. The scientific-technical cadres of many schools have been brought together to support socio-economic goals and large areas: the capital Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, the Mekong Delta and many sectors and other localities. In recent years, scientific research and the introduction of scientific and technical advances in production and everyday life through responsibility contracts and economic contracts have developed in a strong and diverse manner. Some scientific-technological advances have been applied and

introduced on a relatively large scale and have yielded high economic returns (the production of high pressure injectors for diesel engines; the development of high yield varieties of rice that are resistant to planthoppers; the production of steel reinforced cement boats; the development of crossbred hogs, the production of epoxy lacquers; the production of the drug becberin and medicine for the treatment of burns; the design and manufacture of a steam cooking system; the production of pre-stressed, steel reinforced concrete, etc.). More than 500 scientific and technical advances have been applied on a small scale.

The achievements that we have recorded in the education and training of cadres prove that the college and vocational middle school sector has, under the leadership of the party, always endeavored to follow the path of socialism and competently support the revolution in each stage. As a result of these achievements, the college and vocational middle school sector has had the honor of receiving a high award from our party and state: the Order of Ho Chi Minh.

In the course of its development and growth, the college and vocational middle school sector has also displayed many weaknesses and shortcomings that have limited the successes and affected the development of the sector. At present, the most noticeable weakness is that that quality and efficiency of cadre training are, generally speaking, still low and have even declined in some areas. Although many students are graduating from colleges, academies and vocational middle schools, their job skills are poorly developed and they are unable to effectively solve scientific and technical problems faced in practice. The quality of the teaching of politics, ideology and ethics is still low. The problem of how best to assign and utilize students once they graduate from schools has not been resolved well. At a time when jobs are unavailable for graduates at some places, some sectors and localities still lack cadres who have a college or vocational middle school education. The ratio between technical workers and cadres who have a middle school or college education is not balanced. In view of the new requirements being faced in building and defending the fatherland, certain aspects of vocational and middle school education are not consistent with these requirements, are not coordinated with the needs of our economy today. Besides this, difficulties being encountered by cadres, teachers and students in their daily lives, the lack of material-technical bases, the slowness with which management is being improved...have also had a very large influence upon the quality and efficiency of training.

Looking back over the 40 years that we have been working to build and develop the sector, the college and vocational middle school sector can, from the achievements and from the weaknesses and shortcomings described above, learn many lessons and gain much experience concerning the educational and training efforts of the party, lessons and experience that will support development in the new stage.

1. In the cause of the socialist revolution, the system of college and vocational middle school education actively participates along with the educational and cultural sectors in the process of molding the new, socialist man and is, at the same time, an integral part of our country's current socio-

economic development strategy. Carried out well, the education and training of cadres at colleges and vocational middle schools will make a very important contribution to improving the quality, efficiency and productivity of social labor. This is not only or simply a matter of social welfare, but is also a matter that is directly tied and closely related to the economy, to production and social progress. This realization should serve to give the cadres of the college and vocational middle school sector a fuller understanding of their heavy responsibility and, at the same time, cause society to be more fully concerned with this sector and make more appropriate investments in it.

2. The training of college and vocational middle school cadres must be closely tied to the immediate and long-range socio-economic targets of the entire country, of each sector and locality. Therefore, planning the training and utilization of cadres on the basis of the cadre planning of the various sectors and localities is very important and necessary. Only in this way can this training be conducted under clearly defined guidelines and objectives, be conducted with high quality and efficiency. At the same time, through a variety of methods, the college and vocational middle school sector must gradually meet the needs of the mass of workers to learn more, to raise their specialized and professional standards.

The overall quality of training is closely linked to the efficiency with which cadres are utilized. Above everything else, quality is to be expressed through the character of the new, socialist man, a person who is patriotic and supports the ideals of socialism, who possesses the personal qualities and ability of the collective master, who possesses the health, knowledge and skill needed to perform an occupation well, one that is consistent with society's division of labor, who possesses the ability to solve certain scientific-technical problems faced in practice. On the other hand, quality can only be fully achieved, can only yield high returns when cadres are assigned and utilized correctly. Closely tying education and training to the socio-economic targets of the entire country and each sector and locality, establishing appropriate training objectives, boldly improving the subject matter and methods of education and training, strengthening material-technical bases and the corps of cadres and teachers and doing a better job of assigning and utilizing cadres, this is the course that must be taken to improve the quality and efficiency of the sector's training.

3. One important aspect of the implementation of the party's principles of education within the colleges and vocational middle schools is that of combining instruction and learning with productive labor, with scientific experimentation and research. The colleges and vocational middle schools must simultaneously fulfill two functions: training cadres while conducting scientific-technical research and performing productive labor (mainly in the sectors and trades for which training is being provided). These two functions must be balanced, well coordinated and closely combined in order to achieve both educational and economic returns. By means of scientific-technical research and productive labor, the schools directly support production and everyday life while improving the quality of their training and creating additional sources of capital with which to strengthening their material-technical bases, thereby helping to improve the living conditions of cadres, teachers and students.

4. Full attention must be given and many specific measures must be taken to steadily increase the number of direct production workers, children of working class families or the families of war dead and outstanding youths who have experience in combat and production attending the colleges, academies and vocational middle schools. Appropriate policies must be adopted for the training of cadres who are members of the ethnic minorities and the training of women cadres. Good, competent persons must be selected for training for the key sectors. In order for this policy to be implemented well, it is necessary to select subject matter, methods and forms of training that are suited to each objective.

While training a large corps of scientific-technical cadres to meet the needs of the various sectors, localities and levels, full attention must be given to building a well coordinated and dependable corps of competent scientific-technical cadres who possess good personal qualities for the country.

5. Even under the exceedingly difficult circumstances of the war, when economic development was impossible, we still managed to develop education, in general, and college and vocational middle school education, in particular. It was during the resistance against the war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists against the North, when schools had to be evacuated to the countryside, that college and vocational middle school education developed most rapidly. This development occurred because we took the right approach. Education is the work of the entire party, of all the people. The guidelines for the development of education are "the state and the people working together" and "the central level and the locality working together." In view of current circumstances, it is even more necessary that every effort be made to utilize all four resources that we have at our disposal for developing education and training: investments by the state (both the central and local levels); investments by basic production units (both state-operated and collective); contributions by the families of students and the people; and the results of the scientific-technical research and productive labor of teachers and students. While continuing to strengthen and improve the system of formal, long-term training, it is necessary to greatly increase the amount of regular elementary and advanced training being provided through a variety of flexible methods. Everything possible must be done to bring education and training to the point where they soon have an impact upon the economy, to make them a positive factor stimulating socio-economic development instead of a "heavy burden" upon the economy.

The resolution of the 5th Party Congress set the guidelines of the education sector in the 1980's as: "Developing education in a positive and steady manner in stages that are consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the national economy while making every effort to improve the quality of education." (2) The Political Bureau resolution on educational reform set the targets of the college and vocational middle school sector as: "Building a large corps of management cadres, scientific-technical cadres and professional cadres, a corps whose structure is well coordinated and balanced in terms of the sectors, trades, levels of skill and types of cadres it represents, is consistent with the economic and cultural development planning and plans of the country, a corps that consists of cadres who possess good political qualities and highly developed specialized skills in order to gradually



resolve the scientific, technical and management problems raised by the realities of our country."(3)

During the second half of the 1980's, in order to thoroughly implement the resolutions of the party, the college and vocational middle school sector must resolve the following key problems well:

1. Refining and concretizing the targets and structure of the education system, reforming the subject matter and methods of training.

The structure of the college and vocational middle school education system must be varied and flexible in order to meet the cadre needs of the entire country, of each sector and locality, needs which are very diverse in terms of cadre standards, occupational skills and types of cadres, and meet the needs of the mass of workers to learn more and constantly raise their standards. Many forms of study and training must be made available: long term and short term, formal and on-the-job, conventional and unconventional, advanced training in special fields, etc. Efforts must be made to enable everyone who wants to study and raise their standards to meet their needs. However, this structure must be oriented toward a number of key places that now lack sufficient cadres: the district level and cooperatives (agricultural, forestry, fishing, small industry and handicraft), the Mekong Delta, the Central Highlands and the northern mountains. Attention must also be given to training cadres in the fields of science related to economic management and social management, training cadres among the ethnic minorities, training cadres for leading sectors and so forth.

We must strengthen and expand the system that provides students with training after they graduate, especially college post-graduate training. Efforts must be made to gradually begin providing the major portion of college post-graduate training here within our own country. Planning must be conducted and positive steps must be taken to quickly establish a corps of leading cadres who are politically reliable, are skilled in their special field, in practical application and industrial technology, are experienced in economic and social management.

A list of the sectors and trades for which training is provided must also be drawn up. This list must be adjusted to keep pace with the division of labor and the opening of sectors and trades in our country during the period of transition to socialism. The network of schools must be restructured to be consistent with socio-economic zoning and the distribution of the population throughout the country as well as each locality. Key schools and leading schools must be established in order to provide high quality cadre training.

Resolving, in a way that is well coordinated, the problems regarding the structure and forms of training, the list of the sectors and trades in which training is provided and the network of schools will create a new structure for the college and vocational middle school education system, a structure that will more closely tie this system to socio-economic development in the initial stage of as well as throughout the period of transition to socialism and lay the groundwork for the adoption of training objectives, subject matter and methods for each specific sector and school.

Of special importance is the need to improve the quality and efficiency of instruction in Marxism-Leninism, in politics, ideology and ethics within schools. In the course of their studies and training, the awareness that students have of socialist ideals, their patriotism, the love of their occupation and their readiness to serve the cause of building and defending the fatherland must be heightened. Subject matter and programs of instruction must also be revised and improved to insure that training is basic, modern and practical. Importance must be attached to improving the ability of students to apply theory to practice, to improving their practical and industrial skills. Students must know how to calculate economic efficiency, how to engage in scientific thinking, in economic thinking, how to organize and manage, etc. We must establish, on a pilot project basis, a number of schools that have direct ties with basic production units, research centers and training-science-production cooperative teams.

## 2. Organizing experimental work, scientific-technical research and productive labor well.

Above, mention was made of the very important position and role of scientific research, experimentation and the introduction of scientific-technical advances in production, everyday life and national defense. To expand these efforts, it is first of all necessary to closely link the school to society, give teachers and students an understanding of socio-economic targets and correctly define the subjects and problems that must be researched and resolved. At the same time, matters regarding organization, management, procedures, policies and material-technical bases must be worked out well. Direct ties between schools and basic production units and among schools have yielded very large returns and given schools the ability to research and solve problems of increasingly large magnitude shared by two or more sectors.

The schools must successfully carry out the scientific research projects that are part of the key programs of the state while accelerating the signing and implementation of research contracts with basic production units, sectors and localities. The focus of these efforts must be the application of scientific-technical advances. At the same time, appropriate attention must be given to conducting scientific research to support training and research in the science of education. Every school must build upon its own strengths. The leading fields of study at schools must be developed, especially at key, leading schools.

## 3. Strengthening and developing the corps of teachers and education management cadres.

The most important factor in achieving higher quality and efficiency, in meeting the requirements of educational reform and development is to improve the quality of the corps of teachers and education management cadres. Both the personal qualities and the standards of this corps must be constantly raised. The structure of this corps must be refined and coordinated and positive steps must be taken to provide cadres and teachers with the conditions they need to keep abreast of, to stay in touch with production and the realities of society. Importance must be attached to training key management cadres and leading specialized cadres in the various fields of

study. Special attention must be given to selecting and training instructors in political theory. College teachers must be standardized and arranged in accordance with the scientific duties they perform. We must increase the percentage of college teachers who hold an academic title by expanding the training of research students. We must establish standards for the corps of vocational middle school teachers and arrange this corps in accordance with these standards.

The potentials that lie within our corps of teachers and education management cadres are very large. However, to effectively develop these potentials, we need to have appropriate policies and need to assign and utilize cadres and teachers in a way that is rational, especially skilled cadres and teachers. Elevating the position of cadres and teachers in society and stabilizing and improving their standard of living are practical ways to help improve the quality of education.

#### 4. Improving the organization and management of education.

We must improve the organization and management of the system of college and vocational middle school education in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, especially the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee. Many procedures and policies (mass scholarships, methods of recruiting students and distributing jobs...) that were necessary and served a good purpose under war time conditions have now become outmoded and are now largely characterized by bureaucracy, subsidization and quotas. They do not encourage students to make every effort to learn and do not demand that the school concern itself with the quality or, in particular, the results of training. The planning of training is largely characterized by bureaucracy, subsidization and a form for form's sake approach. Many places that need cadres only know how to "request the assignment of additional cadres" but do not participate in or contribute to the training of cadres, do not give matters their full consideration in order to assign and utilize cadres in the way that is most efficient. The practices of "recruiting students by locality," "training by address" and training under "contract" have only been in effect for a few years and still need to be augmented and refined in many respects.

The division of labor and responsibilities in training must be defined more fully and in greater detail.

International cooperation must be expanded in a way that is planned. Importance must be attached to the returns from this cooperation. In particular, importance must be attached to broadening our cooperation with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia.

Building the party and building the organizations of the trade unions and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union are of extremely important significance in insuring the successful completion of the tasks mentioned above. The mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the people exercise ownership" must be defined in greater detail with the aim of improving its implementation. The quality of those party members who hold leadership and management positions has a major impact upon every activity of the school.

Constant concern for the socialist emulation movement within the school is a reflection of the party's mass view. Unity and consensus between the party committee secretaries and the presidents and principals of schools are an indispensable requirement in insuring the smooth development of schools.

As we begin the 1985-1986 school year, the final year of the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and the first year of the 1986-1990 plan, large and difficult tasks face the entire college and vocational middle school sector. The college and vocational middle school sector must gradually correct the major imbalances that exist now, establish a new structure, system and management mechanism that are more consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the national economy and raise both the efficiency and quality of training, thereby making positive contributions to the effort to meet the socio-economic targets of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism within our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

- + Excluding eight institutes, one college, 30 academies and the vocational middle schools of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Defense.
- 1. According to statistics for 1983 plus the number of graduates of the 1983-1984 school year.
- 2. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 97.
- 3. The resolution of the Political Bureau on educational reform, 1979, p 7.

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REDUCING THE RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH TO A REASONABLE LEVEL, A PRESSING REQUIREMENT OF OUR COUNTRY AT THIS TIME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 58-62

[Article by Nguyen Cong Thang]

[Text] In 1945, the population of all of Vietnam was 23 million. By the start of 1985, 40 years later, this figure has risen to nearly 60 million. Deserving of attention is the fact that the rate of population growth remained high even during the years of the wars of resistance against France and the United States.

Engels often said: the planning of a country's national economy will become meaningless if that country does not control its population growth. In fact, the planning of our country's national economy is very closely related to a reasonable rate of population growth, the essence of which is the planned parenthood campaign to reduce the rate of population growth to a level at which it is balanced with the capabilities that exist for developing the national economy. This fact has been very clearly proven in practice. In the municipality of Hanoi alone, about 66,800 babies (the average of many recent years) are born each year. This figure means that Hanoi must have at least 600 additional classrooms, 70 more pediatricians, 600 more teachers and 1,800 more child care governesses and supply an additional 68 million dong worth of cloth and milk, 1,500 tons of rice and 130,000 square meters of housing (2 meters per capita) each year. Nationwide, 1.3 million children are born annually, thus making the above figures that much larger. Such a rate of population growth is clearly not consistent with our country's rate of economic and cultural development in the current stage.

In 1963, clearly aware of the special importance of reducing the rate of population growth to a reasonable level, our party and state launched the "planned parenthood campaign." The Planned Parenthood Commission was established and chaired by Council of Ministers chairman Pham Van Dong.

In 1975, the Council of Ministers issued Decision Number 283/CP, which made the Ministry of Public Health responsible to the state for mobilizing and using each specialized and technical force of the public health sector to support the planned parenthood campaign.

In 1976, this issue was raised in the resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party: the work of protecting mothers and children must be performed well. The planned parenthood campaign must be intensified."(1)

And, in October 1978, the chairman of the Council of Ministers issued directive 265/CP on intensifying the planned parenthood campaign throughout the country with the aim of reducing the rate of population growth to slightly more than 2 percent by 1980.

In August 1981, the Council of Ministers issued directive number 29/HDBT, which set the following as specific requirements under the 1981-1985 plan: "All sectors and levels must continue to promote the planned parenthood campaign in a strong and widespread manner with the aim of achieving the target of each couple having only two children, born 5 years apart, in order to achieve the target of reducing the rate of population growth nationwide to 1.7 percent by 1985, with the municipalities and provinces of the lowlands and midlands of Bac Bo reducing their rate of population growth to 1.3-1.5 percent, the provinces of central Vietnam reducing their rate of population growth to 1.5-1.7 percent and the provinces of the South and the mountains to 1.7-2 percent."

The target of reducing the rate of population growth to 1.7 percent by 1985 was approved by the party's 5th National Congress of Delegates. Also at that congress, our party once again asserted: "We must adopt and implement a correct population policy, a policy under which one extremely important job, a job of strategic significance from the standpoint of both the economy and society, a job to which all organizations of the party and all levels of administration must give their full attention and directly concern themselves is that of continuing to promote the planned parenthood campaign. We must revise a number of specific policies and regulations that are no longer suitable, amend or promulgate related policies and guide their implementation in a close and determined manner with the aim of reducing the rate of population growth to a reasonable level."(2)

Today, following many years of steadfast efforts to organize the planned parenthood campaign, the rate of population growth in our country has declined significantly: from 3.6 percent in 1962 to slightly more than 2 percent in 1984. Some provinces and municipalities have reduced their annual rate of population growth to below 2 percent: Ho Chi Minh City: 1.9 percent; Thai Binh and Haiphong: 1.8 percent; Nghe Tinh and Quang Nam-Da Nang: 1.83 percent; Hai Hung: 1.9 percent; and Hanoi: 1.97 percent. Some 50 districts, precincts and towns and 2,500 villages and subwards have achieved a rate of population growth of 1.7 percent or less. Of these, 15 districts and precincts have achieved a rate of less than 1.5 percent and more than 200 villages have achieved a rate of less than 1 percent.

However, compared to the target of reducing the rate of population growth nationwide to 1.7 percent and the other target set forth in Directive 29/HDBT, many objectives have yet to be achieved. Specifically, the number of women giving birth at a young age, the number of women giving birth to children in close succession or to many children and the number of older women who are still having children still account for a significant percentage of the

population. In addition, the planned parenthood campaign has not been continuously maintained. Some villages and districts that managed to reduce the birthrate and the rate of population growth by a significant amount failed to adopt plans and take positive measures to maintain these rates, as a result of which they have risen in recent years.

The shortcomings mentioned above stem from many causes. To begin with, there is still much that is wrong with how this issue is understood. More than a few persons maintain that planned parenthood is not an urgent necessity, even not very necessary at all, and feel that there is no need to control births if we keep making every effort to accelerate production and develop the economy. (Facts do not show this at all! In many localities that annually increase their grain output and develop their economies, the income of the citizen has been gradually declining because the rate of population growth has been too high and economic development has not kept pace with this growth. Even countries that have reached a high level of economic and scientific-technical development must accept a rate of population growth of less than 1 percent and some countries virtually maintain zero population growth). A number of other persons feel that the planned parenthood campaign only concerns women, consequently, they do not attach importance to promoting this campaign among men. (This is a wrong outlook. More than a few husbands are opposed to this campaign and have created difficulties and obstacles for their wives with regard to practicing planned parenthood). Besides this, many feudal attitudes and improper customs of long standing still exist, such as respect for men but not for women; equating a large family with wealth; the need to have someone to carry on the family name; God determines how many children a family has; having children is the right of the husband, of each family and is not a matter in which society should intervene, etc. These attitudes and customs have created major difficulties for the campaign.

Because they do not fully realize the special importance of reducing the rate of population growth to a reasonable level, many local party committees and governments have given light attention to the planned parenthood campaign, do not directly guide this movement and have left all of this work up to the public health sector. Many cadres and party members have not been setting a good example and have not been activists in the campaign.

The coordination of activities among the sectors, mass organizations and propaganda and education agencies is still disorganized, still lacking in depth. Although the planned parenthood campaign is primarily oriented toward youths (70 to 80 percent), the activities of the organizations of youths in this campaign are still very weak.

The network of the public health sector is not meeting the needs for means of contraception and technical birth control measures fully or in a convenient or widespread manner. At some times and places, public health cadres still pose inconveniences to women coming in to adopt planned parenthood methods.

There is a lack of systematic, well coordinated and comprehensive research projects on social attitudes, propaganda and education, traditional medicine, population studies and so forth with the aim of reaching basic conclusions necessary to support the campaign.

The drafting of new regulations and policies is proceeding slowly. Old regulations and policies that are not consistent with the campaign have not been promptly revised or replaced.

To reduce the rate of population growth to 1.7 percent as planned, it is necessary to more actively pursue the following measures:

--First, it is necessary to strengthen the close guidance of the population growth and planned parenthood campaign by the various party committee echelons and levels of the state administration. This work cannot be left entirely up to the public health sector. Facts have shown that those localities and basic units in which the guidance of this campaign by the party committee and government organization is lax achieve very low results. Party committees must know the specifics and the targets of this campaign, know whom this campaign is directed toward so that they can adopt appropriate guidelines concerning it and turn their policies into specific measures taken by the local government to guide this campaign. Only in this way can the campaign be expanded in a rapid, positive and determined manner as required by the Council of Ministers.

--Secondly, propaganda and educational efforts must be intensified, must be widespread, flexible and regular. In our approach to propaganda and education, we must be practical, avoid being cursory and deal with such issues as the theoretical base of population studies; the relationships between the population and society, between the population and the development of the national economy and between the population and cultural development; the model of a Vietnamese family; the concept of happiness; the scientific and technical bases of planned parenthood; the regulations and policies related to planned parenthood, etc. Everyone must be given a clear understanding of the targets of the campaign: only two children per couple, be they both girls or both boys; spacing children 5 years apart; and women only giving birth to a child when their body has fully developed, ideally at 22 years of age or older. Propaganda concerning the population and planned parenthood must be directed toward each and every person; however, it must first be directed toward the following persons: cadres and party members; Youth Union members; married couples of child bearing age; elders, religious circles and the students at schools. Every media and form of propaganda must be employed, such as the mass media (books, newspapers, posters, wired radio, television...); the various forms of literature and art (folk verse, plays, musicals, dance, biographies...); and personal contacts and exchanges (talks, private conversations, forums...).

--Thirdly, the activities of the sectors, levels, mass organizations and localities must be well coordinated in order to achieve the combined strength of all of society. The planned parenthood campaign is a major campaign that is related to all sectors, levels, mass organizations and localities. In short, it is the work of all of society. As the work of all of society, all of society must concern itself with this campaign.

There has long been the opinion that the planned parenthood campaign is only the work of the public health sector. This concept is incorrect, is not consistent with the view of the party nor with reality. Of course, the public



health sector bears the major responsibility to the party and state for this campaign. However, it would be a mistake to leave this work entirely up to the public health sector and, if we did, the results achieved would be very limited. Consider a few examples: according to statistical data, the majority of the women giving birth each year are youths (70 to 80 percent). Encouraging these women to practice planned parenthood is a matter of very important significance. However, if this work is performed only by the public health sector without close coordination on the part of the Youth Union, the results achieved will certainly be low. The promotion of planned parenthood demands that the specialized devices and means required for planned parenthood be made available, such as birth control pills, intrauterine loops and the various membranous devices (condoms, vaginal shields, diaphragms), etc. Although we are actively stepping up the domestic production of these products, we cannot fully meet every need of the planned parenthood campaign and, as a result, must continue to import these items from foreign countries, which requires foreign currency. The question can be asked: how, on its own, can the public health sector complete its task well without the coordination and assistance of the planning, finance, foreign trade and supply sectors? Moreover, the planned parenthood campaign must be accompanied by a budget and a number of suitable regulations and policies. Clearly, the public health sector cannot take the place of the other sectors in this work.

--Fourthly, it is necessary to apply birth control measures thoroughly and concern ourselves with building the corps of public health personnel who perform planned parenthood work. Along with propaganda and educational efforts to inform the public, in general, and couples of child bearing age, in particular so that they then adopt an attitude that is sympathetic toward and begin practicing family planning, so that they have few children, raise healthy and obedient children and make for themselves a life that is civilized and happy, it is necessary to apply scientific and technical measures thoroughly in order to help them practice birth control in a way that is easy, convenient and effective.

To fully implement birth control measures among persons of child bearing age and do so quickly, safely, privately and on a regular basis, we need to have a corps of public health family planning cadres, from the central level to the localities and basic units, that is truly strong. That is, this corps must be skilled in its special field, must be zealous and dedicated and must approach its work with a high sense of responsibility. We have established a widespread public health network in the provinces and municipalities of the North and central Vietnam, in Ho Chi Minh City and a number of provinces in the Mekong Delta. The public health sector has established a widespread network of maternity clinics on the village line, departments of obstetrics and gynecology in the hospitals from the district to the central levels and intrauterine loop fitting units in the localities. However, in some localities, especially the provinces of the South, the public health network is still thin and the corps of family planning cadres is weak and lacks sufficient personnel. The public health sector must focus its efforts on doing a better job of training family planning cadres, beginning with the corps of midwives on the village public health line, so that these women are

able to provide information and instructions concerning planned parenthood, manage pregnancies, fit women with intrauterine loops and regulate menstruation.

--Fifthly, regulations and policies must be adopted that encourage persons to practice planned parenthood. The provinces and municipalities must improve their regulations and policies with the aim of encouraging persons to practice planned parenthood. Those provinces that have not adopted such regulations and policies must, on the basis of the resolutions of the Council of Ministers concerning regulations and policies on population and planned parenthood work and on the basis of examining the experiences of those provinces and municipalities that have already adopted good regulations and policies that encourage planned parenthood, adopt regulations and policies of their own to encourage planned parenthood, regulations and policies that are well suited to the actual situation of their localities. The combined sectors of the state must soon adopt regulations and policies that encourage planned parenthood. At the same time, they must revise or cancel regulations and policies that are irrational and do not encourage planned parenthood. The state should establish an appropriate budget for the planned parenthood campaign with the aim of quickly reducing the rate of population growth to a reasonable level. The budget for this campaign must be clearly expressed within the plan of the state on the various levels.

--Sixthly, the organizations that guide population and planned parenthood work from the central to the local levels must be improved. On 11 April 1984, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, as directed by the chairman of the Council of State, issued Decision Number 58/HDBT establishing the National Population and Planned Parenthood Commission.

The National Population and Planned Parenthood Commission has the task of helping the Council of Ministers guide population and planned parenthood work and taking charge of coordinating the various agencies and mass organizations in the performance of this work nationwide.

In order for population and planned parenthood work to be expanded in a rapid and vigorous manner and be under centralized, unified guidance, it is necessary to successfully carry out the establishment of population and planned parenthood committees in the provinces, municipalities and the special zone directly subordinate to the central level and planned parenthood guidance committees in the precincts, districts, agencies, enterprises and other administrative units. Of importance is the need to put cadres who are competent and highly determined in charge of guiding and managing population and planned parenthood work.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Nghị quyết Đại hội IV"[Resolution of the 4th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 59.
2. "Van kien Đại hội V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 72.

## PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 63-67

[Article by Vo Quy]

[Text] Our country is on the path of building socialist industry, something which demands increasingly large amounts of natural resources. The potentials that lie in our arable land, forests and ocean waters will be mobilized more strongly, in both depth and breadth. The different types of minerals and various forms of energy will be developed much more. In the cities and industrial zones, even in the countryside and the new economic zones, the environment will change. The ecosystems of the forests, lowlands, hills, mountains, seacoast and estuaries will be affected much more strongly by the activities of man. All of these changes face our country with many pressing environmental problems that must be solved. Thus, what are these pressing problems?

1. Forest vegetation, a priceless resource, a basic factor in the quality of the environment, has decreased far beyond the degree permissible and is continuing to rapidly decrease.

Some three-fourths of our country lies in hills and mountains. Consequently, forests must cover more than 50 percent of our country just to maintain environmental balance. However, in the space of only the past 40 years, our country has lost one-half of its forests. Today, forests cover only about 24 percent of our country's land, which is less than the allowable percentage. On the average, our country has been losing about 163,000 hectares of forests each year. Since 1975, we have been losing 225,000 hectares of forests annually. If this trend continues, the forests will completely disappear in the space of 20 to 30 years. Deserving of attention is the fact that the forests of the southern provinces have suffered heavy damage in recent years, especially in eastern Nam Bo. In particular, more than one-half of the broadleaf evergreen forests has been lost in the space of the last 5 years. The cajuput forests in western Nam Bo have declined by 86.7 percent. In early 1983, a major fire struck the U Minh cajuput forest. As a result, there are virtually no pure cajuput forests remaining today.

The loss of forest vegetation has led to increasingly serious erosion. Each year, the rivers and streams in the North carry a huge quantity of fertile

soil into the South China Sea. The topsoil on hills and mountains, not protected by a cover of vegetation, is eroding away at the rate of 1 to 2 centimeters per year, thus causing us to lose about 100 to 200 tons of soil per hectare. When forest cover exists, it takes from 100 to 400 years to create a layer of soil 1 centimeter thick and from 3,000 to 12,000 years to create a layer of topsoil 30 centimeters thick capable of supporting farming. Therefore, the loss of topsoil as a result of erosion is a loss that cannot be made up for any time soon. Due to unsound farming practices, the fertile soil in many newly cleared areas has become depleted after only 3 to 5 years and can no longer support farming. As a result, the amount of barren cropland is steadily increasing. Soil erosion has also caused damage to construction projects, especially reservoirs. About 2.7 million tons of sediment are deposited in the Thach Ba Lake each year. In recent years, the Da Nhim Lake has become heavily silted and no longer has enough water to maintain power generating capacity during the dry season. In roughly 10 years, the Cam Son Lake has become silted to a depth of 2 meters. The Boc Nguyen Lake, which had a capacity of more than 30 million cubic meters, and a number of other lakes were filled in completely after only 10 years and no longer hold water. The loss of forest vegetation has had a marked effect upon the local hydraulic system. The average water level of many rivers and streams in Di Linh, the Central Highlands, Vinh Phu and many other areas is much lower than in the past. At many places, underground water levels have also been seriously reduced. For example, in the triangle region of Thoi Binh District in Minh Hai Province, you once only had to dig to a depth of one-half meter to find fresh water. Today, you must dig to a depth of more than 10 meters. Many prosperous villages in the Northwest had to be moved to other locations because streams ran dry after the headwater forests had been completely destroyed. In recent years, flooding and drought have been more frequent and more severe. In former Quang Binh (Binh Tri Thien Province), due to the destruction of some 200,000 hectares of headwater forests by U.S. bombs and shells during the years from 1964 to 1968, the annual flooding along the Gianh and Nhat Le Rivers has been 2.7 times higher since 1970 than in previous years. In addition, during the years of the recent war, more than 2 million hectares of forests in the South were sprayed with herbicides and defoliants one or many times. This situation has not only brought about a serious decline in the ecosystems there and caused major damage to forest resources, but has also caused serious environmental pollution within the region.

Endeavoring to increase the amount of land covered by forests to 30 percent nationwide is a pressing requirement. To accomplish this, we must immediately stop the indiscriminate destruction of forests, unsound harvesting practices, slash and burn cultivation and forest fires. At the same time, we must organize the widespread planting of trees by all the people and combine this effort with forest conservation. To do this, we must have scientific organizational and management policies and measures and stronger state laws. On the other hand, we must educate the people and make them so profoundly aware of the importance of protecting the environment that it becomes a splendid, everyday practice on the part of each and every person.

2. Land resources are diminishing due to unsound practices and the amount of land per capita is declining because the population is growing very rapidly.

In terms of land mass, our country ranks 58th in the world. However, because the population is growing rapidly, the average amount of land per capita is currently very low (0.56 hectare per person). The projected average for 1990 is 0.51 hectare per person and, for the year 2000, 0.44 hectare per person. Meanwhile, the current world per capita average is 3.36 hectares per person.

Our country currently has about 7 million hectares of farmland, an average of 0.13 hectare per capita. It has been estimated that there are 10 million hectares of land that can be cleared for farming. Thus, even if we fully develop this potential, the amount of farmland per capita still will not increase by much.

The amount of forest land has decreased from 14.3 million hectares in 1943, 43.8 percent of the country's land, to only about 7.8 million hectares today, about 24 percent of the country's land. During the past 38 years, 73 percent of the forests in Bac Bo, 20 percent of the forests in Trung Bo and 13.8 percent of the forests in Nam Bo have been lost. The amount of forests per capita has declined very rapidly, from 0.57 hectare per person in 1943 to only 0.14 hectare per person in 1983. If the continued destruction of the forests is stopped, if forests are replanted and protected so that we have 7.6 to 8 million hectares of forests by the year 2,000, the average amount of forest land per capita will still only be about 0.10 to 0.11 hectare per person.

Meanwhile, the amount of bare ground and barren hills has risen rapidly, from an insignificant figure in 1943 to 10.5 million hectares in 1975 and 13.8 million hectares in 1983. This problem is most serious in the Northwest and the Central Highlands. According to data compiled by the Institute of Forest Investigations and Planning, there were 4,952 hectares of bare ground and barren hills north of the 17th parallel in 1962. By 1983, this figure has risen to 8.2 million hectares.

Land is a basic and precious resource of man. All classes of land are of permanent value and can yield economic returns if we know how to use them in a sound and logical manner. Because our country is land poor, we must practice utmost frugality in the use of land. To utilize land in ways that are highly efficient, to be able to use land on a permanent basis, research must be conducted in order to adopt intensive cultivation practices and protect land well regardless of the purpose for which it is used.

3. The genetic resources found in the plant and animal worlds and typical ecosystems of our country are rapidly disappearing.

In the territory of our country are many unique and rich ecosystems of the tropical region, such as the evergreen tropical rain forests, the semi-deciduous forests, the legume forests, the pine forests, the mangrove forests, the cajuput forests, the coastal estuaries, the Euphorbia banks, the islands, etc. The species of animal and plant life that live within these ecosystems are exceedingly diverse and rich. They include many precious and rare species, many species of high economic value and even many species whose uses are still not fully known. Many ecosystems are the foundation of the wealth of an area, such as the mangrove ecosystem, the coastal estuary ecosystem, the ecosystem of the Euphorbia banks, etc. However, hardly any of these precious

resources are being protected and virtually all are being harvested in an indiscriminate, unplanned and unsound manner; therefore, they are gradually degenerating and becoming depleted. Many valuable species of animal and plant life are becoming increasingly rare. Even varieties of rice, fruit trees, valuable industrial plants and so forth are not being protected or preserved in an organized manner. These valuable gene banks, which are not only important to our country, but to the world as well, are in danger of disappearing.

It is necessary to organize, at an early date, national forests, nature preserves and nature refuges to protect and restore the typical ecosystems and the rare and precious species of animal and plant life of our country.

#### 4. The use of estuary and coastal resources is unsound.

Vietnam has many estuaries and a vast seacoast. The combination of the hydrology of rivers and streams, the tides and sea currents together with cyclical climatic changes have created within this region a rich, diverse and highly productive biosystem. From the standpoint of synthesizing organic matter, the natural output of the ecosystem of the estuaries and the seacoast is higher than that of any other ecosystem. The marine products catch in this region can be more than 20 times higher than the catch in the open sea. This region is the spawning ground of many marine species, the place where schools of mature fish build food reserves and the feeding grounds of young fish. This region can be viewed as the region in which marine product resources are reproduced and the open sea as being the region where these resources are harvested.

The Vietnamese have long been using the resources of this region in ways that are unsound: excessive harvesting; catching fish that are not fully grown and schools migrating to spawning grounds; destroying spawning grounds and natural feeding grounds; and destroying the mangrove forests and Euphorbia banks which are the foundation of the marine product resources of the entire region. More than 80 percent of the fish catch in Vietnam is caught in coastal areas. In those countries that employ advanced fishing technology, they fish primarily in the open sea and leave the estuaries and seacoast for the production of fish schools.

Recently, pollution caused by waste waters generated in everyday life and in industry has posed a danger to marine life in estuaries and along the seacoast. This is also a problem that must be given attention and resolved.

#### 5. Mineral resources are being wasted.

Mineral resources are currently being extracted in hundreds of large and small mines, such as coal mines, metal mines, non-metallic mineral mines and building material excavation sites. Due to shortcomings in the process of the exploration and designing of mines as well as in mining and processing operations, mineral resources are being wasted at practically every mine. At some places, these losses are two to three times higher than the allowable level.

The practices of dumping dirt and rock on places where natural resources have yet to be tapped, of only mining rich ores, only selecting the grades of ore that are necessary while ignoring poor quality ores, not making integrated use of all the ore that has been mined and so forth occur at many mines. Some mines waste one-third of their potential output. Because of immediate needs, some places have mined valuable ores for use in routine work, such as using stone that could otherwise be used for building and ornamental purposes to pave roads. Some places have constructed reservoirs in areas that hold large mineral reserves. The unsound mining practices of some coal mines are causing abnormal processes of geologic change to emerge, processes which have caused the edges of mines to cave in and cracks to develop, thus creating difficulties for production. The practice of locating dumping grounds at convenient sites has resulted in roads being covered over and the scenic beauty of many places being marred.

6. The pollution of the air and water in a number of industrial zones and municipalities.

In some municipalities and industrial zones in our country, many types of toxic gases have been detected, the concentration of some of which exceeds permissible levels. Dust pollution is also a serious problem. In some enterprises, the concentration of lead dust and mineral dust is very high. Some factories, because they do not have gas or dust control equipment, have not placed their production facilities in sensible locations, are not separated from the surrounding area by a safety zone and have not given their attention to the directions in which toxic gases and dust are carried by the wind, have caused rather serious pollution in adjacent residential areas.

Water pollution has also reached rather serious proportions at many places. Some industrial zones discharge their waste waters directly into rivers and streams, thus polluting sources of water used in agriculture and everyday life. In Hanoi, tens of thousands of cubic meters of dirty, untreated water containing inorganic and organic toxins, bacteria and disease carrying parasites are discharged each day into a number of lakes, ponds and canals within the city and its outskirts. In Ho Chi Minh City, hundreds of thousands of cubic meters of untreated waste water are discharged each day into canals and rivers. Some agencies in charge of managing water resources have estimated: in the next 15 years, with the development of industry and the concentration of the population within the cities, our need for water for industry and everyday life will rise to 8 billion cubic meters per year and the quantity of waste water being discharged will increase to about 5 to 6 billion cubic meters per year. A flow rate of roughly 6,000 cubic meters of water per second will be needed to dilute this quantity of waste water. This flow rate is larger than the combined flow rate of our major rivers during the dry season.

7. Pesticide pollution has reached rather serious proportions.

The quantity of pesticides of all types being used in our country each year has risen rather rapidly, from 100 tons in 1959 to 22,000 tons in 1978, with pesticides being applied to 50 percent of our farmland. However, deserving of attention is that the concentration at which these pesticides are being

applied is generally two to three times higher than the allowable rate, sometimes 10 times higher or more.

This indiscriminate use of pesticides has not only caused environmental pollution and killed many beneficial organisms in fields, ponds, lakes and so forth, but has also resulted in humans being poisoned.

#### 8. The impact of the war upon the environment.

For more than 30 years, imperialist and reactionary forces caused serious harm to the environment in Vietnam. Between 1961 and 1971, the American military dropped on Vietnam more than 13 million tons of bombs and shells. In the process, they created more than 10 million bomb craters and ruined hundreds of thousands of hectares of cropland. Also during that period, the U.S. Air Force carried out a program of environmental destruction. Approximately 72 million liters of defoliants and herbicides were dropped on the rural areas and mountainous forests of South Vietnam. Chemical poisons were sprayed one or many times on 44 percent of the forests and 43 percent of the agricultural land in the South. The U.S. Air Force used rockets to set the cajuput forests on fire, used bombs to set the underground peat deposits in the U Minh forests on fire and bombed the limestone mountains in Quang Binh, Thanh Hoa, Son La and Quang Ninh Provinces, setting afire and collapsing tens of thousands of hectares of forests on the limestone mountains. The U.S. military used tanks and bulldozers to level and clear more than 1 million hectares of villages, farmland and forests to create "uninhabited zones" around their bases. The bombs, shells and chemical poisons of the United States not only damaged our country's forest and land resources, but also adversely affected the environment.

#### 9. The population and the distribution of the population.

The rapidly growing population in our country is also exerting tremendous pressure upon natural resources and the environment.

The population of the cities, especially the major cities, is increasing rather rapidly. Meanwhile, housing, electricity and water service, means of communications and so forth are inadequate. The failure to handle garbage and trash well has resulted in a significant decline in the quality of the environment.

Our country faces pressing environmental problems that must be solved. If viewed as separate from man, nature is nothing more than some vague entity and totally without meaning. The happiness of society and the free and full development of man must be achieved within the reciprocal relationship that exists between man and nature, between society and the environment. The environment, therefore, is a general issue that relates to many sectors, is an exceedingly complex and broad issue that has profound implications for every aspect of social life and every aspect of the life of man. The reasons for protecting the environment are to satisfy the rising needs of society and insure the constant improvement of life, the development and prosperity of the nation in the current stage and the future as well. Protecting the environment, which includes protecting and making rational use of natural



resources, is the necessary and primary path that must be followed to achieve the goals that we have set and essentially provides the conditions needed to carry out the process of continuous expanded reproduction, raise national income and build a civilized and happy life for our people. For this reason, protecting the environment is clearly one of the issues with which we must be concerned.

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POWER TOOL FACTORY NUMBER 1 SHIFTS THE FOCUS OF ITS PRODUCTION AND IMPROVES ITS MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 68-72

[Article by Tran Xuan]

[Text] Power Tool Factory Number 1, which the Soviet Union helped us build and equip and was our first power tool factory, is the largest such factory in our country, both in terms of its production capacity and its size. Prior to and during the first 3 years of the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan, the factory's production was rather stable and developing well. Power tool output increased annually. In 1978, the factory recorded its highest output ever, exceeding its expanded design capacity by 15 percent. Labor productivity also rose at a rather rapid rate.

When the factory embarked on its 1979 production plan, due to the general state of the economy, its production conditions were unstable, sufficient material means were not available to maintain the normal development of its production and many difficulties were encountered in supplying materials to the machine sector. On the other hand, the needs of the economy for power tools, as reflected in the state plan assigned to the factor, declined. This situation caused the factory's production to change and decline. In 1980, power tool output only amounted to 24.1 percent of the value of the factory's total output. Total output (excluding steel) never exceeded 81.6 percent of the factories design capacity and equipment utilization was only 40 percent of capacity, even lower in some production units, such as the gear shop. During the period from 1979 to 1981, the factory fell into a state of confusion and was unable to take the initiative in its production. This led to difficulties in the utilization of its corps of scientific and technical cadres, management cadres and technical workers, even though the factory was relatively well equipped, its corps of workers was large and relatively well skilled and its technical and management cadres were, generally speaking, rather well qualified and competent. If this bleak situation were allowed to continue, in addition to production stagnating, the income of cadres and workers would decline and the difficulties encountered in everyday life would increase. These were the concerns and worries of the leaders of the factory, of its technical and management cadres, its direct production workers.

In the face of this critical situation, the factory promptly revised its production guidelines while attaching importance to improving its management system.

The tasks of the factory--a machine production unit--were redefined on the basis of the tasks of the Vietnam machine sector in the present situation surrounding production:

--Strongly building upon its key role in order to effectively support the national economy, beginning with agriculture, while accelerating the production of metal consumer goods and meeting the pressing needs of the national economy;

--Continuing to equip the national economy with new technology in conjunction with producing spare parts and components in order to restore and make full use of existing equipment and machinery.

In light of these tasks and in view of the many supply difficulties being encountered now, difficulties that will persist for many years to come, the factory realized that it was not a sound decision to continue to specialize in the production of power tools because production could not be maintained or increased and that it was, therefore, necessary to develop its production by diversifying its product line. The factory could no longer produce only power tools, but had to begin producing other machine products in order to support the national economy.

Only by diversifying its production on the basis of a rational product line so that the factory's production develops in the right direction and effectively supports the national economy and the income of cadres and workers is raised in order to reduce the difficulties encountered by them in their everyday lives was it possible to correct the decentralization and disorganization that existed in management and the tendency of the factory's production to be a closed cycle. However, the factory could not shift the focus of its production all at once. Because, in order to diversify its production, it had to establish a rational product line. And, to do this, it had to survey market needs, balance its supply of materials and take the initiative in marketing its products. At the same time, the factory had to develop its potentials so that it could produce and do business efficiently.

Another question that was faced was: would the diversification of production, which meant the elimination of specialization, reduce the factory's labor productivity and production efficiency? The realities of the factory's production over the past several years have shown that diversifying production within a machine works is necessary because it opens the way for production to meet many needs of the economic sectors, closely ties production to the broad market and provides the factory with the conditions needed to select rational product plans on the basis of establishing balance between cooperation and specialization in production.

In 1982, on the basis of its potentials, the factory established and put into production a new and rational product line:

1. Power tools produced in reasonable quantities that meet quality standards; power tools that meet higher technical requirements; special purpose machines for complete equipment systems and metal consumer goods production lines;
2. Spare parts (including spare parts for heavy machinery and precision machines) for the various sectors and spare parts supplied along with machines;
3. Products for exportation;
4. Metal consumer goods.
5. Complete equipment systems.

After 4 years of taking positive steps to change the focus of its production, the experience of Power Tool Factory Number 1 shows: to change and improve production and quickly expand the product line, it is necessary, in addition to having the necessary equipment, to truly perform good scientific and technical work that results in the creation of a skilled corps of technical cadres, management cadres and manual workers and necessary to bring about fundamental changes in management, most importantly changes in planning.

The thinking that guides the factory in the formulation and implementation of its plan is: its objective is to achieve economic efficiency; the state plan is the backbone of its management; the needs of the national economy are the basis on which coordination and economic ties are established within the machine sector; and technical advances, improvements in management and the practice of frugality are the means by which to achieve higher labor productivity, product quality and economic efficiency, balance the three economic interests and develop the factory's production.

Prior to 1979, with production conditions being relatively unstable and lacking a sufficient supply of materials to maintain the normal development of production, the Ministry of Engineering and Metals could assign plan control figures to the factory on the basis of the requirements of the other sectors and the production capabilities of the factory itself. On the basis of these control figures, the factory balanced its labor, equipment and technical materials in coordination with examining some of the orders placed by enterprises in order to formulate its product plan. However, in view of the many difficulties and changes in the economic situation today, this approach is no longer suitable because it often leads to the thinking of relying upon and waiting for the upper level to act and does not develop initiative on the part of the basic unit in its production and business. More importantly, it fails to link the plan to needs, production to the market. In practice, many products cannot be completely marketed, capital is tied up, production and business operations are inefficient, the income of cadres, manual workers and civil servants is low and, in particular, it becomes very difficult to complete the assigned state plan. In recent years, as an outgrowth of shifting the focus of the factory's production and changes in the thinking by which planning is guided, importance has also been attached to improving the specifics involved in the formulation of production development plans and the implementation of these plans in a manner consistent with the new structure of

production. The thinking of passively waiting for a plan to be assigned by the upper level no longer exists. The factory has achieved a greater degree of independence in its production and business, keeps abreast of the needs of the economy by taking the initiative in surveying the market (the organized market) and establishes its product plans in a manner consistent with its capabilities, thus insuring that these plans are closely tied to the market, that production is carried out in conjunction with marketing. The planning office has gradually begun formulating plans that are backed by solid guarantees, mainly from the standpoint of product markets and the availability of capital and capital construction capabilities of its customers. This is not a simple matter because practically all of the factory's products are means of production of other units and consumers must spend a large amount of capital to be able to "buy" them. The factory has sent many groups of cadres to localities to gain an understanding of the production situation of basic units, sectors and localities in order to familiarize itself with the machine product needs that exist at many different places and, at the same time, familiarize itself with the specific requirements, with the production and reproduction capabilities of basic units and establish permanent relations between producer and consumer, thereby insuring the reliability of its plans. As a result, about 80 percent of the factory's annual planned output is covered by economic contracts signed before production begins and a significant portion of its output for the next year is carried out from the end of the current year.

One change that has occurred in planning is that the output plan is now closely tied to the plan for the introduction of scientific and technical advances. This is a pressing requirement now that the factory has shifted the focus of its production toward diversification and is producing new products that have new technical standards and high industrial requirements. In planning, the industrial capabilities of the factory must be used to develop new, high quality products and set guidelines for the development of science and technology that will enable the factory to complete its tasks. Every industrial capability and potential must be mobilized to complete the tasks set under the plan. On the other hand, the production plan itself must be formulated on the basis of summarizing and analyzing industrial capabilities. To insure that its plan can be implemented, the factory also gives attention to balancing its plan with material supply capabilities. In addition to the materials received from the state under supply norms, the majority of which are not supplied in full, are not matched and are not supplied on time, the factory has, on its own, located a large quantity of materials, enough materials even to provide supplies for that portion of its plan assigned by the state. The factory has helped many sectors equip with technology and meet their needs for spare parts, which previously had to be imported, thus enabling these sectors to supply to the factory the types of materials it needs. Each year, by taking this approach, the factory can obtain on its own, 20 to 30 percent of the total quantity of materials it requires.

In implementing the improvements made to planning, the factory has given its attention to making creative and effective use of economic ties with other units, considering this to be a dynamic economic management measure, a way to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and create the conditions for developing the potentials of the factory as well as a number of sectors

and localities and promptly supporting the national economy through mutual assistance. Power Tool Factory Number 1 has established ties with many economic sectors to produce complete equipment systems for new construction projects. For these projects, the factory draws up a production plan for each complete equipment system, a plan that provides for cooperation in production. These are plans that define the specifics involved in cooperation in production on a broad scale between the factory and many scientific research and production units, the aim of which is to coordinate and bring together many different fields of production and many different management sectors related to the project. For example, in the manufacture of the complete equipment systems for and the complete construction of the Phu Ninh Hydroelectric Power Plant in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, the Bach Ma Hydroelectric Power Plant in Binh Tri Thien Province and so forth, Power Tool Factory Number 1 formulated these equipment manufacturing plans in the form of goal-oriented programs with the participation of many different sectors and with the state approving and assigning specific plans to the concerned sectors and localities. In essence, the factory conducted a pilot project in a new model to take the place of the task of a supply and equipment corporation that serves as the contractor on a project in everything from the design of the project to the production and installation of its equipment. The factory has now become a center through which economic ties are established and serves as general contractor. In its economic ties, the factory also realizes the importance of establishing a balanced relationship between cooperation and specialization in production, realizes the importance of surveying the market and learning the pressing needs of the national economy for machine products. Also through the ties it has established in the production of complete equipment systems for medium and small-scale hydroelectric power plants of localities and agricultural, forest and marine product processing equipment, some enterprises have been able to provide additional jobs, reorganize their production and make full use of surplus equipment capacity and labor with the aim of producing useful products. On the other hand, the establishment of economic ties has also had the impact of eliminating the conservative view that the production process within an enterprises is a closed cycle. This is of special significance to Vietnam's machine production because, to this day, practically all of our machine enterprises produce individual pieces of simple equipment that require not economic ties but only cooperation in the broad sense.

In the 4 years that it has spent shifting the focus of its production and improving its economic management system, Power Tool Factory Number 1 has achieved encouraging results.

The factory has been able to produce a number of types of machines of higher precision and in larger quantities, such as P72 horizontal milling machines, M732T flat grinding machines, 250-ton and 340-ton screw presses, etc. The technical and management standards of the factory have not only been maintained, but raised as well, thereby making possible the production of larger power tools in subsequent years.

The factory has also been able to produce spare parts that require high manufacturing technology, parts that previously had to be purchased from

foreign countries, and has, as a result, helped to maintain the operation of many enterprises.

Prior to 1982, the factory only gave its attention to producing products that were directly exported. Now, in addition to these products, it has expanded into the production of multi-purpose equipment, thereby making it possible for enterprises that specialize in producing export goods to increase their output and produce products that long had to be purchased from foreign countries. This is one of the effective way to export goods indirectly.

As regards the production of metal consumer goods, in order to make full use of its existing surplus capacity, the factory has selected a suitable product line and put these products into large-scale, mass production on the basis of only investing in technology, not in large-scale capital construction. At the same time, it has organized the production of metal consumer goods in between the production of other products, thus tapping the potentials lying in the equipment and labor of its shops. The factory has been producing bicycle sprocket wheels in relatively large quantities. It produced 100,000 in 1982, 150,000 in 1983 and 200,000 in 1984. The realities of the past 4 years have shown that all factories that produce means of production are capable of participating in the production of consumer goods and that this potential must be developed not only in the current stage but over the long range as well.

The production of complete equipment systems is a new stage in the development of the factory, the purpose of which is to manufacture difficult equipment and machine systems that we previously had to import as well as sets of equipment to support the retooling and expansion of a number of basic production units. In the years ahead, the factory will continue to sign contracts for the production of a number of complete equipment systems on the basis of widespread economic ties with other basic units.

Displaying the dynamism and creativity of a basic production unit, Power Tool Factory Number 1 boldly developed a new way of operating for itself and has promptly shifted away from bureaucratic management and subsidization to economic accounting and socialist business practices. Under the light of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, it has developed the spirit of collective ownership of the masses and created the conditions for them to participate in the process of improving the economic management system. It has implemented the payment of wages entirely in money and the inclusion of all costs in production costs. It has continued to improve the payment of piecework wages by managing the wage fund on the basis of finished products, thus truly making each worker, each section of workers and each production shop more conscious of their responsibility for the results of the work and income of their unit and themselves. On this basis, it has brought a new atmosphere to work within the factory.

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## THONG NHAT DISTRICT AFTER 10 YEARS OF TRANSFORMATION AND BUILDING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 83 pp 83-88

[Article by Le Gia Tang, acting secretary of the Thong Nhat District Party Committee]

[Text] Thong Nhat, a midland district of Dong Nai Province, measures 55,300 hectares, 35,912 hectares of which are basalt soil suited to the cultivation of rubber, coffee, beans and tobacco. A rather high percentage of the district's land is hilly and rocky land, very little is fit for farming. In 1976, the entire district had only 250 hectares of rice fields. To expand the amount of area under cultivation, it has been necessary to improve the soil and perform good water conservancy work.

Thong Nhat District has a population of 230,000, 85.6 percent of whom are Catholics. In addition to those persons who were forced to migrate to the district from the North in 1954, many other persons from other localities have come to the district to earn a living. As a result, the compatriots of Thong Nhat District have much experience in production, especially small industry and handicraft production. However, during the first several years following liberation, production and the standard of living were unstable. In 1976, 40,000 persons were unemployed. Each year, the state had to provide the district with grain. The agricultural production of the people within the district was largely dependent upon nature and did not provide sufficient food, small industry and handicraft production was insignificant and there was practically nothing by way of material-technical bases.

Since liberation day, the party organization and people of our district have struggled continuously, made gradual progress and recorded increasingly large achievements in all areas of transforming and developing the economy, strengthening the security and national defense systems, accelerating the development of education and public health and building the party, the administration and the mass organizations, achievements which have led to important changes in our district's economic and social life.

Like many other districts in the midlands, our district has many potentials in agriculture and forestry but lacked the conditions needed to develop them. To develop these strengths, we first had to focus our efforts on resolving the grain problem. Resolving this problem was a matter of major economic and



political significance, the immediate importance of which was to stabilize the standard of living of the people, strengthen their confidence in the revolutionary administration, in the party and the new system and lay the foundation for opening and developing the sectors and trades within the district. The first congress of our district party organization asserted: "Of utmost importance in establishing a position from which the district can move forward is the need to concentrate our efforts on transforming and developing agriculture and resolving the grain problem. On the basis of agricultural development, we must gradually develop the district into a district that has an agro-industrial structure."

In guiding agricultural production, our district has closely combined intensive cultivation and multicropping to raise the yields of its main crops (rice, corn, beans...). The first problem that our district had to successfully resolve was that of providing irrigation water for crops. To a midland district such as ours, water conservancy is a matter of special importance. We have been promoting the movement to build water conservancy projects ever since the start of 1976. Today, building water conservancy projects has become a broad mass movement, a movement that has yielded practical results. Having begun with only one dilapidated water conservancy project, we have now built 24 projects with reservoirs and canal and ditch systems within fields supporting agricultural production. As a result of performing good water conservancy work, our district increased the amount of area under the cultivation of three crops per year from 250 hectares in 1976 to more than 1,600 hectares in 1984.

As regards intensive cultivation, we have attached very much importance to the selection of crop varieties. We have discontinued the use of old varieties and begun making widespread use of new, short-term varieties that are highly resistant to pests and diseases. All of the locality's old varieties of rice have been replaced with new varieties. A crop protection and pest control network extending from the district to the villages has been organized. Timely forecasts of the development of pest populations have limited the damage caused by pests, even during seasons of heavy infestations. The district has made appropriate investments in the various types of supplies and fertilizer for production and delivers these supplies directly to basic units.

As a result of successfully taking the steps described above, the yield, output and amount of area under the cultivation of all crops have increased with each passing year. The amount of area under cultivation has increased by thousands of hectares annually, reaching 43,065.5 hectares in 1984, a 90.2 percent increase compared to 1976. Grain output reached 76,503.8 tons in 1984, an increase of 211.86 percent compared to 1976. In 1976, the district's rice yield was only 12.8 quintals per hectare. In 1980, 1981 and 1982, we averaged nearly 30 quintals per hectare per season. In particular, in 1984, the district focused its efforts on guiding production within its high yield rice growing areas and raised the yield of rice to 37.27 quintals per hectare per season. The corn yield has risen from 16 quintals per hectare per season in 1976 to 20.53 quintals per hectare per season in 1984.

In 1983 and 1984, on the basis of having resolved the grain problem, the district boldly began to replace crops that provide low economic returns, such

as upland rice and cassava, with annual industrial crops of high economic value, such as soybeans and tobacco. The amount of area under the cultivation of annual industrial crops increased considerably in 1983 compared to 1976. In particular, 3,000 more hectares of soybeans and 1,670 more hectares of tobacco were raised. The areas specializing in the production of corn, soybeans and tobacco, which measure tens of thousands of hectares (in Bau Ham, Cay Gao and Trang Bom I), produce a significant quantity of agricultural products and commodities.

The development of agriculture has helped to gradually stabilize the standard of living of the people. In 1984, the district produced 2,563 dong in agricultural output per capita, an increase of 117.6 percent over 1976. It produced 2,522 dong in agricultural output per agricultural laborer, an increase of 106 percent. A district that lacked grain in 1976, 1977 and part of 1978, Thong Nhat now produces sufficient grain to meet its own needs and has been making increasingly large contributions to the state. In 1984, the district mobilized 18,610 tons of grain, in paddy equivalent, an increase of more than seven-fold compared to 1978. With the supply of grain having been stabilized, the district's livestock production sector has developed rather well. In 1976, the district had only 16,426 hogs, 2,167 head of cattle and 509 buffalos. By 1984, the hog herd had increased to 35,149 hogs, the cattle herd to 4,317 head and the buffalo herd to 1,357 head. Thus, in the space of 9 years, the hog herd more than doubled in size, the cattle herd doubled in size and the buffalo herd nearly tripled in size. The district has established one state-operated livestock unit that raises hogs, cattle and fish. We have also established a livestock insurance corporation and all villages of the district have a veterinarian and a supply of veterinary medicines.

The development of agriculture has created the conditions for the birth and development of the industrial, small industry and handicraft sector. This sector has reached a new stage of development within the district since the issuance of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee.

In 1977, the district had only one state-operated enterprise, a brick enterprise producing about 300,000 bricks per year. Today, the district has eight state-operated industrial enterprises in the machine, building material, lumber processing and grain and food product processing sectors. The district's machine sector produces a variety of products, such as hand farm implements, insecticide spray tanks, rice threshers, corn husking machines and furniture. Within its state-operated enterprises, the district has implemented piecework wages for each production section and each worker. Through the process of construction and development, the district's state-operated industry raised the value of its total output to 6,960,475 dong in 1984, a 27-fold increase compared to 1977.

The small industry and handicraft trade in Thong Nhat District has been transformed and its production has been reorganized into product groups within the machine sector, the milling sector, the agricultural and food product processing sector, the furniture production sector, etc. At present, the district has 15 small industry and handicraft cooperatives and 63 cooperative

production teams. The small industry and handicraft labor force accounts for 14 percent of the social labor force. Over the past several years, the district's small industry and handicraft sector has produced many products of value and met a portion of the district's needs. Some products have been put on sale at other places and exported. In 1983 and 1984, we focused our efforts on transforming the grain milling and processing sector, bringing 70 milling machines into cooperatives and production collectives, and established cooperatives that process cassava, process potatoes and make noodles. Some agricultural cooperatives have expanded the production of bricks and tiles, the sericulture trade, etc.

Since 1980, the value of the district's industrial, small industry and handicraft output has been increasing at an average annual rate of 12 percent and has accounted for 20 percent of the value of total agricultural and industrial output. An agro-industrial structure is gradually taking shape within the district.

Our district closely tied the transformation of agriculture to the transformation of industry and commerce because the district's agriculture was a system of commodity production with close links to industry and the market. Had we only carried out the transformation of agriculture without transforming industry and commerce at the same time, agricultural transformation could not have been completed quickly, it would have been difficult to develop small industry and the handicraft trades in the right direction, the state would not have been able to control goods, private merchants would have disrupted the market and the working people would have continued to experience difficulties in their everyday lives.

In October 1978, the district began encouraging farmers to start earning their livings collectively. At first, we encountered difficulties and complications. However, through the efforts of the entire party organization and after nearly 8 years of transformation and building, the district has now virtually completed cooperativization.

In 1978, 1979 and 1980, the district's cooperativization movement was a movement in size only, its quality was still very poor. Since 1981, following the adoption of Secretariat Directive Number 100 on final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, the cooperativization movement has developed in depth. The production collectives and cooperatives have been strengthened and practically all are operating well. The standard of living of collective and cooperative members has been markedly improved. Rice yields within the production collectives and cooperatives are two to three times higher and soybean yields are three to four times higher compared to the yields that were achieved as private farmers. Whereas they once practiced the monoculture of grain, today, practically all production collectives and cooperatives have developed livestock production. Some have opened additional sectors and trades, such as the Duc Long and Tan Yen Cooperatives in Gia Tan III Village, the Hung Nhon Cooperative in Hung Loc Village, etc.

Through the transformation of industry and commerce, the small merchants within the district have been reorganized, with 1,898 businessmen being

shifted to agricultural production. We have organized the registration and licensing of merchants and businessmen in the public food sector and the services. The product sectors and counters at rural markets have been efficiently arranged and are being tightly managed. The district's socialist commerce network has steadily developed. At present, state-operated commerce has seven stores and 11 retail sales points. A system of marketing cooperatives extending from the district level all the way down to the basic units has been established. All of the district's villages have a marketing cooperative. These marketing cooperatives have a total of 80 stores. The activities of the marketing cooperatives have begun to supply the majority of the goods supplied to the people and give the state control over the sources of goods at basic units through procurements.

Along with transforming, building and developing the economy, the district has given special attention to building the new countryside and molding the new, socialist man. In roughly the past 10 years, the district has constructed a number of material bases for the culture and information sector, such as a library, a bookstore, a radio station and cultural activity centers. Positive steps have been taken to build the mass culture and art movement, build movie units... Many different approaches, such as information campaigns and literary and art activities, have been taken to propagandize and educate the people in the lines and policies of the party. On this basis, we have been gradually building the new countryside and molding the new, socialist man.

Education within the district has also developed and made significant progress. Many more schools and classes have been constructed within the district. We have virtually eliminated the need for students to attend schools in three shifts. The network of kindergartens and child care centers has gradually been expanded. During the 1983-1984 school year, there were nearly 39,000 general school students and nearly 4,500 children attending kindergartens and child care centers. Supplementary education for cadres and the people has been maintained from the district to the village levels and has yielded good results.

The district has also attached appropriate importance to public health work. It is currently building a district hospital with nearly 100 beds, which will be expanded to 200 beds in the years ahead. Area examination clinics and 17 village public health stations have been constructed.

As a district that was once located within the strategic belt set up by the Americans and the puppets to protect Saigon, the security situation within our district has been exceedingly complex. We launched a strong movement among all the people of the district to defend the fatherland and have established militia units, self-defense units and people's security teams from the district to the villages and hamlets. Under the guideline of combining the economy with national defense, we have directed the attention of the villages to considering both economic returns and national defense needs when digging canals and ditches, building roads and so forth. Since 1976, as a result of coordinating the activities of the army, the public security forces and the people within the district, Thong Nhat has solved hundreds of security cases

and apprehended thousands of reactionaries. Political security and social order and safety have been firmly maintained within the district. Military recruiting has met and exceeded quotas every year.

The socio-economic achievements that have been recorded by Thong Nhat District during the past 10 years have gradually created a new life for the people of the district and, in this way, have increased their confidence in the new system.

The past 10 years have also been 10 years of challenges for our district in the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism. The achievements that have been recorded reflect the correct application of the lines and policies of the party to the specific circumstances of the district, reflect the strong will and high determination of the party organization and people of Thong Nhat District to carry out the two strategic tasks set by the party and reflect the collective ownership role of the people of the district.

From the realities of the past 10 years of transformation and building, we have drawn the following experiences:

First, insuring that political and ideological unity exists throughout the party organization and that this entire organization is solid and strong is an extremely important prerequisite in guaranteeing the party's leadership of socialist transformation and socialist construction. To achieve a high degree of consensus throughout the party organization, it is first of all necessary to perform good political and ideological work. In the process of educating cadres and party members, our party organization has directed its efforts toward clearly defining for everyone the guidelines, stages and specific goals of the district regarding economic and social development and clearly defining the differences between the two paths, between labor and exploitation. Our party organization has especially concerned itself with unity and consensus within the party, beginning within the district party committee. This unity must be expressed first through strict compliance with the lines and policies of the party and the full performance of the political tasks set by the party organization.

Improving the quality of party members and building chapters that are solid and strong are pressing requirements in party building with which our party organization has been very concerned. These requirements have been closely tied to the performance of the district's political tasks. To date, through challenges met in practice, 34 of the 43 basic organizations of the party within the district have been recognized as pure, solid and strong party chapters or party organizations. The majority of our district's party members are troops who were reassigned and persons sent to work here from all regions of the country. The number of local cadres is small. Therefore, we have given special attention to training local cadres, especially basic level cadres.

The number of party members in the district rose from 70 immediately following liberation to 514 in 1984. The leadership ability of the various party organizations and chapters has been markedly improved, from the point where

many sectors and villages once had no cadre in charge to the point where every sector and village now has a supplemental pool of cadres. In the assignment of cadres, we have given our attention to combining older, experienced cadres with young, able-bodied cadres who possess knowledge of science so that they can assist and learn from one another in their work. We are utilizing scientific-technical cadres in a rational way in order to correctly employ the skills of each person and have created favorable material and spiritual conditions and provided them with appropriate incentive and reward so that they contribute much to society.

In conjunction with building the party, our party organization has gradually strengthened the apparatus of the administration on the various levels and developed the role of the state agencies in economic and social management. The mass organizations of the district have played the role of activists in the revolutionary movements of the masses.

Secondly, building upon the collective ownership role of the masses and achieving the combined strength of the district are very important factors in guaranteeing that the socio-economic goals of the district are met. In the course of its development, our district has faced many difficulties and obstacles: sabotage by class enemies that has had an impact upon production and life within the district every hour of every day; the shortages and backwardness caused by small-scale production; the harsh vagaries of the weather; and the deficiencies of the corps of cadres in management. Displaying self-reliance, initiative and creativity, we have made progress by relying upon the masses and have overcome these difficulties and obstacles.

The mobilization of the masses within our district has essentially been a matter of mobilizing Catholics because 85.6 percent of the district's population is Catholic. Our success in mobilizing Catholics has come mainly as a result of correctly assessing their thinking in order to adopt suitable policies. After studying the actual situation, our district party organization unanimously observed: the vast majority of Catholics are patriotic laborers who, besides being religious, require a material, spiritual and emotional life just as every other citizen does. If we know how to apply the line of the party and employ suitable forms of organization and agitation, they will actively contribute to the revolution.

Immediately after liberation day, guided by this thinking, the party organization turned its hands to providing jobs for and looking after the living conditions of the Catholic population.

In conjunction with concerning ourselves with their material and spiritual lives and intensifying the effort to teach politics and ideology to the Catholic population, we have also intensified the struggle to divide the upper echelons of the Catholic church, beginning within basic units. We exposed the true identity of reactionary elements masquerading as clergy and showed the Catholic population how these elements planned to use their religion to oppose and attack the revolution and go against their interests.

Today, following a process of steadfast agitation, practically all parishes support the movement to build parishes that "love their country and hold

affection for their God." Parishes that "have a beautiful life and fine ethics" and the Catholic population is enthusiastically participating in every aspect of work within the district and the villages. All Catholics have actively participated in the cooperativization movement, the water conservancy movement, the movement to fulfill the military obligation, the movement to contribute to the state and so forth and examples of persons skilled in production, of persons fulfilling their military obligation well have been appearing with increasing frequency.

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## NINH PHUOC MOVES GRADUALLY FORWARD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 89-92, 95

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Tan, secretary of the Ninh Phuoc District Party Committee]

[Text] Ninh Phuoc, a district of Thuan Hai Province, was established in early 1982.

The district has a population of 97, 638--slightly less than one-third of whom are members of the Cham ethnic minority--living in 13 villages, 9 of which are farming villages, 2 of which are fishing villages, 1 of which is a new economic village and 1 of which is a former resistance base village.

Comparing this population to the district's 83,400 hectares of land, the amount of land per capita in Ninh Phuoc is still low. However, in addition to 15,200 hectares of agricultural land, our district also has 55,300 hectares of forest land, which include nearly 4,000 hectares of special forest products, and more than 42 kilometers of coastline, which enable us to annually harvest roughly 3,000 tons of marine products.

On Ninh Phuoc's land, the people also have the conditions needed to develop the production of buffalo, cattle, goats, hogs...as well as the cultivation of industrial crops of high economic value, such as tobacco, cotton, sugarcane, cashews... In particular, the Cham have long practiced the trades of weaving cotton cloth, weaving brocade and making pottery.

We have begun to build the district with a labor force of 41,000 persons, 34,000 of whom are farmers and 1,270 of whom are fishermen. One significant advantage that Ninh Phuoc has in its favor is that it virtually completed the socialist transformation of agriculture and fishing at an early date: more than 90 percent of farm laborers have been brought into collective production within 33 cooperatives and 17 agricultural production collectives. Six marine product fishing cooperatives and solidarity teams and 13 marketing cooperatives have been established. Practically all of the Cham are earning their livings collectively within 12 agricultural cooperatives and production collectives.



During the past 3 years, with the assistance of the upper levels, Ninh Phuoc, displaying the spirit of collective ownership, initiative and self-reliance, has made every effort to gradually move forward and our district level has become a relatively comprehensive socio-economic management level.

To develop the economy, we have first focused our efforts on stepping up agricultural production with the aim of resolving the grain and food problem and insuring a supply of raw materials for industry.

Recently, much encouraging progress has been made in the production of rice and tobacco. We have been harvesting more than 35,000 tons of rice each year (an increase of more than 10,000 tons compared to 1981). The rice yield on irrigated fields has continuously risen, from 8.8 tons per hectare in 1982 to 9 tons in 1984. In 1983, 17 cooperatives recorded yields of 8 to 11 tons per hectare. The district and 11 of its cooperatives have been awarded banners for their skill in the intensive cultivation of rice by the Ministry of Agriculture. As regards tobacco, the norms on the amount of area under cultivation, yield, output and sales to the state have, generally speaking, also been exceeded each year.

The district, which procured 765 tons of tobacco in 1982, procured 2,200 tons in 1984 (22 percent more than the plan norm).

In Ninh Phuoc, the marine products catch averages more than 1,500 tons per year. In October 1983, our districts fishing industry sustained heavy losses of property and human life in typhoon number 9. However, fishing boats and nets have since been repaired, new ones have been purchased and the total horsepower of the fishing fleet has been greatly increased.

The district's livestock herd and poultry flock have steadily increased in size. Livestock product procurements totalled approximately 150 tons of beef, live weight, and 160 tons of pork, live weight, in 1984, a three-fold increase compared to 1982.

In industry, development has proceeded quite well in Ninh Phuoc, especially in making full use of local raw materials. In 1984, the Ca Na State-operated Salt Enterprise produced 57,000 tons of industrial salt and 2,100 tons of gypsum, thereby meeting domestic needs and contributing products for exportation. The Dao Long State-operated Brick Enterprise annually produces 4 million bricks and 3,000 tons of lime. Small industry and handicraft activities, primarily the production of building materials, the manufacture of consumer goods and machine repair services, have been established at practically all agricultural cooperatives. The Cham have continued to develop their long standing handicraft trades, especially the weaving of brocade, producing attractive products of high export value.

In this initial stage, our district has yet to become a full and comprehensive model; however, it is clear that the economic structure of Ninh Phuoc has changed in the direction of combining agriculture, forestry and fishing in a manner closely tied to the development of industry in order to develop and make rational use of the land, labor and existing economic conditions of the locality.

The modest development that has taken place in all areas of production has enabled Ninh Phuoc to gradually stabilize and improve the standard of living of the people and fulfill obligations to the state.

Per capita grain output within the district has increased from 280 kilograms (1981) to 400 kilograms per year. Our district has developed from having its rice needs subsidized by the state to mobilizing 11 tons of paddy to fulfill its obligation. The average annual income of fishermen is about 12,000 to 13,000 dong. The district is trying, through rationing, to meet the people's needs for essential consumer goods.

The face of Ninh Phuoc has changed rather markedly compared to what it was 3 years ago. Some 1,850 households within the district have constructed new houses. Many hamlets and villages have put tile roofs on 50 percent or more of the houses of their residents.

Noticeable progress has also been made in the fields of culture, education and public health. The system of schools and classes has been strengthened and developed from the district to its villages. Enrollment has increased on all levels of education with each passing year. Kindergarten classes have been established at the agricultural cooperatives and production collectives of the Cham. The literary-art and physical culture-sports movements have been intensified. Ethnic song and dance have been restored and developed along progressive lines. Practically all hamlets and villages have a mass literature and art unit, many of which have participated in performances both within and outside the province. Nine of the district 13 villages have soccer teams that play on a regular basis.

Significant changes have occurred in Ninh Phuoc's social life. The compatriots of the ethnic minorities in Ninh Phuoc take pride in the fact that they have wiped out the hunger, exploitation and illiteracy left behind by the old system. In particular, Phuoc Thai Village, a village in which many Cham reside, is the leader in the effort to abolish backward customs, abolish superstitions and establish the new way of life.

In conjunction with carrying out socio-economic development and concerning ourselves with stabilizing and improving the standard of living of the people, our district has also given very much attention to the task of strengthening the security and national defense system. During the 3 years from 1982 to 1984, in fulfillment of its military obligation, Ninh Phuoc has exceeded all plan quotas assigned by the upper level in all military recruiting drives. Militia and self-defense forces, which have been built and developed in both size and quality, have maintained regular operations on the mainland and at sea in concert with the mass movement to maintain the security of the fatherland, thereby helping to thwart the schemes of harassment and sabotage of reactionaries masquerading as clergy, of professional hoodlums and the FULRO bandits.

In the work of building the district, we clearly realize that having a corps of cadres, party members and core cadres who possess good personal qualities and skills is a decisive factor both in the immediate future and over the long range. Therefore, we have made every effort to strengthen the party

organization and make it solid and strong. At the same time, attention has been given to building and developing the revolutionary mass organizations, especially on the basic level, with special attention being given to the areas inhabited by the Cham. The ability of Ninh Phuoc District to provide socio-economic management has gradually been improved as a result of organizing and building a relatively stable corps of cadres, a rather large percentage of whom are Cham, for the various committees and sectors of the party and administration.

Generally speaking, although we have achieved a number of initial results in building the district and strengthening the district level, Ninh Phuoc District still has difficulties and weaknesses that it is in the process of trying to overcome.

First, bureaucratic management and subsidization are deeply entrenched. The development of production has not been comprehensive or strong. We have yet to develop beyond the point of "a bumper rice crop at the expense of lower subsidiary food crop output" or "a bumper tobacco crop at the expense of reduced sugarcane and cotton output." Afforestation as well as forest conservation efforts are still weak. Attention has not been given to resolving the raw material problem of small industry and the handicraft trades or to organizing the marketing of their products.

Adherence to production plan norms is not as strict as it could be. Some units are still doing as they see fit and pursuing the allure of crops of high economic value. The district does not have many export goods or products. Meanwhile, we are still weak in the field of distribution and circulation. The development of socialist commerce has not been widespread or strong. The socialist transformation of private industry and commerce has not been carried out in a determined and well coordinated manner, consequently, negative phenomena continue to occur in our socio-economic life.

Secondly, the district has only recently begun to formulate its master plan. However, the quality of the work performed so far has been low. The sectors and basic units have been slow to initiate planning.

The organization of production, the division of labor and the building of material-technical bases are still weak and decentralized.

The economic, technical and service networks, which consist of the corporations, stations, farms, stores and so forth, are still small and responsibility for managing them has not been assigned in a way that is rational.

Thirdly, the corps of cadres is still weak and lacking sufficient cadres and has not fully tapped the potentials and capabilities of the locality. The major weaknesses of this corps are its poor qualifications with regard to organizing and managing the economy and organizing socialist business, the continued existence of conservative, rightist thinking and the thinking of relying upon others and the manifestation of negligence and the absence of the sense of organization and discipline.

Having gained a thorough understanding of the resolutions of the party and government on building the district and strengthening the district level, on dismantling bureaucracy and subsidization and implementing economic accounting and socialist business practices, we will make every effort to move Ninh Phuoc one solid step forward, with an agro-forestry-fishing-industrial economic structure within the district, in the space of the next 5 years.

To begin with, our district will focus its efforts on developing agriculture in order to advance agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production and meet all three requirements well: supplying grain and food products to society, supplying agricultural raw materials to industry and opening sources of export goods. The foremost measure that will be taken here is to practice intensive cultivation and multicropping on all existing farmland. A high yield rice field will be established on 3,900 hectares with effective irrigation and drainage and used to raise two to three rice crops per year. The 18,810 hectares under cultivation in 1985 will be expanded to 22,800 hectares by 1990. Ninh Phuoc's target for 1990 is a total grain output of 55,000 tons. Thus, grain output per capita will increase from 420 kilograms in 1985 to 463 kilograms in 1990.

In the next few years, specialized farming areas for each industrial crop will be established in Ninh Phuoc. With an average yield of 22 quintals per hectare, the 3,000 hectares that will be put under the cultivation of tobacco will produce an output of 6,600 tons per year.

The development of livestock production at the cooperatives, state farms and state forestry sites and within each family, which will be encouraged and accelerated, will provide our district with a rather large livestock herd and poultry flock. In 1985, it is estimated that the district has about 18,000 head of cattle, 5,000 buffalo, 16,600 hogs, 120,000 ducks...

The forest land of Ninh Phuoc must be developed and efficiently utilized. To begin with, we must annually plant some 300,000 trees, at a rate of each laborer planting five trees that survive transplanting, and cover 800 hectares of bare ground and barren hills with vegetation.

The fishing industry must be developed in order to increase the annual catch to roughly 3,000 tons of marine products and procure 2,000, including 20 tons of shrimp and 100 tons of squid for exportation.

In industry--which consists during this initial stage mainly of the handicraft trades and small and medium-scale industry--we will, while increasing the output of the brick and salt enterprises 50 percent compared to current levels, build livestock feed processing plants, fertilizer plants, ship and boat repair and construction yards, motor vehicle and machine repair shops... The output of many handicraft products, such as mats, hand farm tools, furniture, brocade..., will also be increased to meet consumer and export needs.

In conjunction with accelerating production, Ninh Phuoc is determined to establish socialist order within the field of distribution and circulation.

By the end of 1985, the socialist commerce network will dominate wholesale sales and account for 70 percent of retail sales.

In the fields of culture, education and public health, we will take positive steps to establish the new way of life and mold the new, socialist man. Our target for 1990 is to popularize level I education among youths and teenagers, level II education among village and cooperative cadres and level III education among the cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the district's various committees and sectors. The district hospital, which will be completed and encompass all departments of medicine, together with the public health stations of the villages, will provide one bed for every 500 persons in 1985 and one physician or doctor for every 2,000 persons by 1990. Construction is continuing on the 20,000 seat district athletic field which, together with the cultural center, museum, theater, wired radio station and so forth, will create for Ninh Phuoc a new cultural life filled with vitality.

Socio-economic development will be closely coordinated with strengthening the security and national defense systems. Having formulated a thorough plan for defending the district, Ninh Phuoc will always be in a state of combat readiness and will thwart each scheme and act of war of the enemy.

To guarantee leadership by the party throughout the district and within each field, we will concern ourselves with carrying out the development of the party well and endeavor to have party members and party chapters in all cooperatives, schools, enterprises, stores and so forth by the end of 1990. At the same time, we will constantly improve the qualities and the organizational and managerial standards and skills--especially in the area of economic management--of cadres and party members and intensify the struggle against negative phenomena.

We will also give special attention to building mass organizations that encompass the three ethnic groups of the Viet, the Cham and the Raglai and developing them into a united force, a force that conducts strong revolutionary activities. Every mass organization is trying to bring into its organization 80 to 90 percent of the persons within its circle by the end of 1985.

In summary, our district party organization realizes that building the district is a task of strategic importance. Following the example set by the progressive districts, Ninh Phuoc District will redouble its efforts to build a district that is increasingly strong and solid, thereby contributing to the successful completion of the 1985 state plan and building the momentum for larger achievements and greater progress under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan.

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IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 600TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF LE LOI (10 SEPTEMBER 1385-10 SEPTEMBER 1985): LE LOI'S CAUSE OF SAVING THE NATION AND BUILDING THE COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 93-95

[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] Le Loi, the founder and organizer of the Lam Son Partisan Army, led our people's resistance against the Minh conquerers.

In the uprising and the war, the strategies and tactics that were adopted for implementation were the result of thorough, detailed discussions between Le Loi and the key generals of the Lam Son Partisan Army. However, the final authority in all decisions rested with Le Loi, the commander-in-chief of the partisan army.

From the end of the uprising (7 February 1418) until 1423, the scope of activity of the partisan army was restricted to the mountain forests of Lam Son by a tight encirclement and intense sweep operations by the Minh forces. At one point, the partisan army found itself in the following situation:

"The forces in Linh Son were without food for several weeks, And those in Khoi Huyen numbered less than a brigade." ("Report to the Emperor on the Defeat of the Minh") Le Loi's unshakeable determination and confidence in the ultimate victory of the cause of national salvation and the skillful and flexible way that he dealt with the most complex and perilous of situations--from temporarily withdrawing his forces to Ai Lao (Laos) to "playing dead over there while forging weapons at home" (poetic essay on Mount Chi Linh--Nguyen Trai)--were the main factors in the success of preserving the forces of the Lam Son Partisan Army during the country's infancy."

In order for the resistance to evolve, it was necessary to bring about decisive turning points in the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy. The commander-in-chief of the Lam Son Partisan Army responded very swiftly to new opportunities, was decisive and took bold, carefully calculated actions to deliver thundering blows at those places where we found the enemy to be vulnerable. These blows came in the offensive campaign launched in late 1424 against Nghe An, which was proposed by General Nguyen Chich and endorsed by Le Loi. This wise, accurate strategic decision had the following result:

after only 1 year of fighting, the liberated zones was expanded from Thanh Hoa to the Hai Van Pass. Youths in the liberated areas eagerly joined the army and the people enthusiastically provided manpower and materiel to support the partisan army in every way possible. The Lam Son Partisan Army underwent extraordinary growth and became a powerful army tens of thousands of men strong, an army complete with infantry, naval, cavalry and elephant forces.

A new situation emerged in the war of resistance. With the enemy in a state of panic and confusion as a result of the repeated defeats suffered at our hands in Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, Tan Binh (Quang Binh, northern Quang Tri) and Thuan Hoa (southern Quang Tri-Thua Thien), the commander-in-chief of the Lam Son Partisan Army promptly steered the ship of the resistance right into the "main stream" of the country, into the waters of the Red River.

"Only by raising the banner of uprising will they all be forced to return to China, the plan of the imperial court was sure to bring major victory."(1)(poem: "Ode to Lam Son" II. Uc Trai Anthology).

In September 1426, three columns of the Lam Son army advanced on the North, penetrating deep into enemy held territory, where they encouraged and made it possible for our people to stage uprisings in those localities in which enemy forces were still present. Minh forces were put on the defensive and drew back to a number of cities, their main stronghold being the city of Dong Quan.

In October 1427, when it was learned that enemy reinforcements were coming from Guangxi and Yunnan, "many generals petitioned the king to allow them to attack Dong Do City and other places. The king said: attacking the cities is not the best policy. We will find ourselves attacking them for months, for years and still be unable to force their surrender, our forces will be worn down and if enemy reinforcements arrive, there will be enemy forces in front of us and behind us. This would be a perilous course to follow. But if we lay siege to them and prevent their reinforcements from arriving, the cities will have to surrender. We would thus accomplish two objectives at the same time. This is a plan for all contingencies."("Lam Son's Real Strength"--Nguyen Trai) This correct strategic decision by Le Loi opened the way for the victories of Chi Lang and Xuong Giang, which led to the final outcome: on 16 December 1427, at the entrance to Dong Quan City, Prince Thong took an oath and asked permission to withdraw his forces back to his country, that is, he surrendered. This "oath taking ceremony" marked the conclusion of our people's war of resistance against the Minh in total victory.

The skill, the achievement and also the sense of responsibility of the helmsman were reflected mainly in how he steered the ship of the resistance through perilous rapids to a safe berth on the other side. The yoke of domination by the House of Minh was thrown off and independence for the fatherland was won through the strength of all the people of our country at that time, the nucleus of whom was the Lam Son Partisan Army, which included the collective of such eminent men as Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, Le Lai, Nguyen Chich and so forth, the leader of which was Le Loi.

After defeating the Minh forces, Le Loi, the leader of the resistance, ascended the throne and founded the Le Dynasty.

Le Loi's constant and sole purpose in saving the country was to bring security to the people, to save the country so that the people could live in peace and find contentment in their livelihoods, the greater their contentment, the greater the prosperity and strength of the country. Even in the midst of the heaviest fighting during the resistance against the Minh, even as our armed forces and people were laying siege to Dong Quan and preparing to attack the enemy reinforcements, Le Loi prohibited "those who claim to be sorcerers and practitioners of black magic from starting rumors to deceive others.

He ordered the evacuation of civilians back to their native villages to raise crops. Anyone who did not have land was permitted to engage in trade. Anyone who abandoned agriculture was severely punished."(2) And, he "ordered his officers and men: 'the tyranny of the Minh over our people has lasted for more than 2 decades. We began with several tens of thousands of troops. Today, we have 350,000. When Dong Quan City falls, we will send 250,000 troops back to work the fields and keep only 100,000 behind to defend the country. From every household of three persons, one person must serve in the army for a period of 3 years.'"(3)

In the war of resistance, the Lam Son Partisan Army "raised crops and fought the enemy." Following the war, Le Loi's foremost concern in the rebuilding of the country was to restore agriculture. After he ascended the throne (1428), Le Loi "issued a decree that all taxes in the country, such as land rents, the tax on silver and gold, the milling tax, the ferry tax and the mulberry grove tax, be suspended and not collected for a period of 2 years."(4) The "Equal distribution of land policy," the first of its kind, was enacted in 1429 with the aim of regulating the distribution and use of the public lands of the community. Viewed against the background of society at that time, the Equal Distribution of Land Policy had a positive impact in restoring and developing the agricultural economy.

Le Loi also took many measures to open virgin lands, develop industry and commerce, establish an administrative system, issue many laws, strengthen the forces of the military, institute a system of education, eradicate superstitious beliefs and corrupt customs...

Five years after ascending the throne, Le Loi died. Although this was a very brief span of time compared to the amount of time needed to rebuild a country that had experienced 20 years of ruthless domination by the Minh and the fierce war, Le Loi laid the foundation for a number of successors, such as Le Thanh Tong, to usher in a period of prosperity in our country.

Ancient historians observed: "Since the founder of the dynasty ascended the throne, the administration of political affairs, which has taken on a quite satisfactory air, such as the issuance of laws and regulations, the introduction of rights and ceremonies, the holding of examinations, the establishment of the Imperial Guard, the establishment of official positions, the establishment of districts, the collecting of books and the opening of schools, also can be viewed as building the dynasty on a large scale... The



dynasty is stable and for a full 10 years the people's interests have reigned supreme."(5)

By virtue of his efforts to save the nation and found the country, Loi Loi ranks as one of the greatest national heroes in the history of the Vietnamese people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Trai: "Collected Works," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, pp 264-265.
2. "Dai Viet su ky toan thu"[The Complete History of Dai Viet], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume III, p 34.
3. Ibid., p 36.
4. Ibid., p 61.
5. Ibid., p 77.

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## FORTY YEARS AGO TODAY: THE DEFEAT OF JAPANESE MILITARISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese, No 9, Sep 85 pp 96-99, 106

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] On the morning of Sunday, 2 September 1945, aboard the battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay, before representatives of the Soviet Union and the anti-fascist allies, a representative of Japan signed the unconditional surrender agreement. This event marked the defeat and total collapse of Japanese fascist militarism, the enemy that kindled the flames of World War II in 1931 when they invaded northeastern China.

On 8 August 1945, reflecting the aspirations of the people of the entire world and fulfilling a commitment made to the allies, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and, by delivering decisive blows, quickly brought about the collapse of Japanese militarism. When the Soviet Union joined the war against Japan, the war in the Pacific had already been underway for more than 3 years. However, Japan's naval and air forces had only been partly destroyed by the United States and Great Britain. Japan's infantry forces, which remained virtually intact, numbered more than 5 million fully equipped troops, the backbone of whom was the Kwandong Army, an army equipped with modern weapons that operated independently, had a separate command and had its own rear base. According to U.S. calculations, an army of roughly 5 million men would be needed to wipe out Japanese militarism and, without the participation of the Soviet Union in the war, "Japan could not be defeated before 1947 or 1948." On many different occasions, the entire world, even political figures and public opinion in the United States, confirmed the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in crushing Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism.

A full 40 years has passed but the great feat of arms of a decisive nature that the Soviet Union recorded by defeating Japanese militarism and bringing the whole of World War II to an end--a feat of arms that is epochal in its stature--still shines brightly in the history of mankind and will be forever remembered by the people's of the nations of Asia and the entire world.

This feat of arms made a decisive contribution to changing the comparison of forces between the revolution and counter-revolution throughout Asia and created favorable conditions for the nations of this region to win decisive victories in the struggle against fascism and the struggle to win national

liberation. The revolutionary achievements of the People's Republic of Mongolia(1), the victories of the revolutions of China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and India and the escape by scores of other countries in Asia from colonialist and imperialist rule have all been closely tied to the Soviet Union's brilliant victory over the militarists of Japan, a country in which capitalism was combined with the remnants of feudalism, a country with a long standing and deeply entrenched tradition of militarism, a country that was turned into a fascist country in the late 1920's, a country that harbored the insane ambition of ruling the "yellow peoples" under its "Greater Asia" policy, which turned out to be a major tragedy for all nations of Asia and the world.

The total collapse of Japanese militarism provided the Vietnamese with an opportunity, one that comes only once in 1,000 years, to arise, carry out the general uprising, seize political power nationwide and establish the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia.

As the organizer and leader of the Vietnamese revolution, our party, more than anyone else, clearly understands how closely the victory of the 1945 August Revolution and the major achievements that have been recorded in our country over the past 40 have been tied to the great victory won by the Soviet Union mentioned above.

The victory of the Soviet Union that brought about the total collapse of Japanese militarism had an extremely important impact upon the course of the Chinese revolution. Northeastern China--the region that the Japanese imperialists invaded in 1931 and established as the so called "Manchukuo," a region that was a main industrial and raw material base of the Japanese imperialists, an important military base for attacking and occupying all of China and the region to which Japan planned to evacuate the entire Japanese royal family when necessary--was liberated by the Soviet army after it crushed the Kwandong Army and became China's most important revolutionary base. During the years from 1945 to 1949, with the Soviet Union turning over to China all the spoils of war taken in that region, which helped China to quickly rebuild its road system and restore its economy and also to establish a group of regular, modern military corps, the Northeast became the solid rear area of the Chinese army. As a result, China's revolutionary forces were not only able to firmly stand their ground in the face of the attacks by the Koumintang Army in the Northeast, but were able to drive them from the entire Chinese mainland as well.

The feat of arms that was the destruction of Japanese militarism included worthy contributions by the people and communists of China. However, it must be noted that, in the face of the danger to the Soviet Union of being attacked on both the western and eastern fronts and despite the exceedingly difficult circumstances of the Soviet people in the great war of national defense, it was the policy of Mao Zedong to allocate 70 percent of his forces to increasing production and carrying out rectification, 20 percent to fighting Chiang Kai-shek and 10 percent to fighting Japan. This "sitting on the sidelines" nationalist line of Mao Zedong plus the negative attitude of the

Chiang Kai-shek army made it easy for Japan to take forces from the Sino-Japan front and mass them along the Soviet border, where they awaited an opportunity to attack the Soviet Union.

The decisive victories of the Soviet Union over German fascism and Japanese militarism brought about a fundamental change in the political and military situations in China, a change which made it necessary for China's leadership to implement a policy of relying upon the Soviet Union and which, as a result, led to the success of the democratic revolution in China.

The collapse of the Japanese militarist, fascist state helped the people of Japan free themselves from the yoke of fascist, feudal rule by a military dictatorship, which created favorable conditions for them to struggle for independence, sovereignty, democracy, peace and social progress, seek friendly and peaceful relations and fundamentally improve the relations between Japan and the nations of Asia. One of the important victories of the Japanese people came when they forced Japanese ruling circles, in the face of the nuclear holocaust caused by the United States and the people's hatred of war, to ratify the 1947 peace constitution. In the spirit of this constitution, Japan rejected the use of war as a national policy; pledged to organize no armed forces of any form; pledged not to allow a foreign country to station troops or establish bases on Japanese soil; pledged not to participate in military alliances against a third country and not to maintain or develop a military industry; and pledged to guarantee democratic freedoms as a safeguard against the restoration of militarism. Later, on the basis of this constitution, the Japanese Diet adopted three principles: Japan pledged not to manufacture, purchase or permit the installation of nuclear weapons on Japanese soil.

Of profound concern to the peace-loving and progressive forces of the entire world is that the Japanese militarism which was defeated 40 years ago is being restored. Less than 1 decade after World War II, the U.S. imperialists, trampling upon the aspiration of the people of Japan for peace, openly urged the restoration of Japanese militarism and the militarization of Japan. The intention of the United States was to turn Japan into an important U.S. ally in Asia and the Pacific with the aim of dealing with the surging revolutionary movement in the region and in a vain attempt to crush national liberation movements and block and weaken the influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries within this region. The Japan-U.S. security treaty signed in 1954 was the first "legal" document to go against Japan's 1947 constitution and has been the most important basis upon which the United States and Japan have promoted the restoration of militarism and the rearming of Japan.

The current Tokyo administration has gone farther than any previous administration since World War II down the path of chaining Japan to the war machine of the United States. The United States has involved Japan at the highest level in its scheme to turn the North Pacific and East Asia into one of the forward bases of the first strike weapons system on a par with NATO. Japan stands ready to meet the requests of the United States that it strengthen the role and expand the scope of activity of Japanese armed forces in the Far East. Called the "national defense force," Japan's military has truly gone far beyond a defense mission. It consists of ground, naval and air

forces, which currently number 280,000 troops equipped with modern weapons and equipment, and this figure can be quickly increased many-fold. The Japanese navy is expanding its operations with the aim of taking over a portion of the function of the U.S. fleet in the Pacific. The Nakasone administration has volunteered to play a positive role in the global strategy of the United States by closely cooperating with NATO and raising Japan-U.S. military cooperation to the level of the military relations between the United States and western Europe. It unconditionally supports the installation by the United States of medium-range missiles in western Europe, endorses the U.S. program for the militarization of space, agrees to transfer to the United States military high technology that has yet to develop, agrees to try to turn Japan into a huge nuclear weapons base of the United States and is ready to take the side of the United States in a "limited nuclear war" launched by the United States.

The Nakasone administration has steadily increased the military budget and done so at a much higher rate than the key members of NATO. In early 1984, it put forth a 5-year (1986-1990) military modernization program costing a total of 77.5 billion dollars with the aim of gradually making Japan a military super power, of NATO-izing Japan and increasing Japan's military potential to the level of the military potential of the Federal Republic of Germany, NATO's strongest member.

Also deserving of mention is the fact that the restoration of Japanese militarism has the sympathy and support of Chinese authorities. In recent years, in conjunction with moving closer to the United States in every field, Chinese ruling circles have increasingly displayed an attitude of indifference toward or support of the evil-minded actions of Japanese authorities. They joined Japan in including an "anti-hegemony" clause directed at the Soviet Union in the so called 1978 Sino-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship, in pledging to erase the bloody crimes committed by the Japanese imperialists on Chinese soil in years past and promised their undying friendship with the Japanese militarists. Beijing authorities have also regularly exchanged high level military missions with Japan, maintaining that Japan is not restoring militarism, that Japan's maintenance of a standing army is "normal" and that the Japan-U.S. security treaty is something that China can accept while not saying a word about the hundreds of U.S. military bases on Japanese soil or the highly provocative joint military maneuvers being conducted by Japan and the United States in the waters bordering on China and secretly endorsing Tokyo's policy of taking the side of the United States in issues regarding nuclear weapons. Beijing has also openly supported Japan's presentation of territorial demands to the Soviet Union, has made every effort to poison the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan and supports and encourages stronger strategic relations between Japan and the United States, between Japan and South Korea. Clearly, China is establishing military cooperation of a strategic nature with Japan; has become a supporter and proponent of the formation of the U.S.-Japan-South Korea military alliance; has taken positive steps to carry out the plan of the United States to establish a new NATO-style military and political structure in the East, a shock force second in strength only to NATO, a force that reinforces NATO, thereby establishing a two-pronged strategic position, encircling and threatening the Soviet Union and the socialist community from two directions, threatening and blocking the

revolutionary and peace movements in Asia and the Pacific, most importantly in Vietnam, the countries of Indochina and the other countries of Asia that refuse to follow the lead of the United States, Japan and China.

The vigorous resurgence of Japanese militarism not only has the aim of serving the political, military and economic expansionist designs of Japan, but also supporting the strategy of a comprehensive alliance with the United States and cooperation with China and helping the United States achieve military superiority within the region, thus creating a new crucible of war, a permanent danger in the Far East, a direct threat to those nations that have suffered so much at the hands of colonialism, militarism and expansionism.

The actions of Japanese authorities and their lackeys prove that they never learned any lessons of history from the tragic defeat of Japanese militarism 40 years ago. The Japanese militarists and the powers that nurture and support them must realize that, today, the socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, and the forces of peace and progress in Asia-the Pacific and the world are many times stronger than they were 40 years ago. These forces are capable of blocking the forces of war and aggression in order to safeguard world peace. If they continue their deep involvement in the restoration of militarism, Japanese authorities will surely court large defeats and lead Japan to calamities that cannot be fully anticipated.

The people of Vietnam have long had friendly relations with the people of Japan. The people of Vietnam also endured much suffering under the rule of the detested and cruel Japanese militarism. Therefore, we have unswervingly supported the struggle of the people of Japan and the other nations of Asia for a Japan of democracy, peace and social progress, for an Asia-Pacific of peace, friendship and cooperation without nuclear weapons, without the threats of imperialism or expansionism and hegemony.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. When it decided to join the war against the Japanese fascists, one of the important conditions advanced by the Soviet Union was that the United States and Great Britain recognize the People's Republic of Mongolia as an independent nation.
2. When liberated by the Soviet army, northeastern China and the northern Korean peninsula, which were occupied by the Kwandong Army, measured roughly 1.5 million square kilometers and had a population of 70 million. At that time, northeastern China was producing 25 million tons of coal, 1.3 million tons of steel and 2.5 million tons of iron per year, had 3,000 kilometers of railroad...

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## THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS OF THE EARLY 1980'S

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 85 pp 100-106

[Article by Nguyen Dieu]

[Text] In late 1979, not long after the 1974-1975 economic crisis, the world capitalist economy fell into a new and very serious crisis.

The crisis this time, which was set against the background of the arms race and the reverberations of the structural crisis that broke out in the early 1970's, faced the capitalist economy with many new difficulties.

### I. The Major Characteristics

The 1980-1982 cyclical economic crisis bore the deep imprint of the 1974-1975 economic crisis and special characteristics caused by the changing conditions of capitalist reproduction.

#### 1. It was the deepest crisis since World War II.

This fact was acknowledged by the leaders of the capitalist countries themselves. Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and director of the International Development Commission, observed that "the current recession of the capitalist economy is very similar to the depression of the 1930's." Canadian Prime Minister P. Trudeau stated that the world capitalist economy in September 1982 was in the worst shape in 40 years.

The seriousness of the crisis was evident in the widespread and prolonged damages and the many dangerous consequences it caused. By September 1982, the crisis encompassed virtually every country and had spread to all fields of the capitalist economy, from industry, agriculture, communications-transportation and construction to the services, trade, finance, etc.

Industrial output declined. Between the 4th quarter of 1981 and the 4th quarter of 1982, the industrial output of the member countries of the OECD declined by an average 3.9 percent.

In the United States, according to official statistics of the Ministry of Commerce, between 1981 and 1982, the output of the metallurgy industry

declined by 47 percent, the mining industry by 11 percent, the machine industry by 13 percent, the textile industry by 10 percent, the building materials industry by 12 percent and the chemical industry by 9 percent. The trade situation also visibly worsened. Despite the many monetary and credit measures taken by the Reagan administration to affect trade, the situation was not improved. The trade deficit was exceedingly large and in danger of becoming insurmountable. The military production sector, as a result of regularly receiving many different forms of financial aid from the state, was not directly affected by the crisis and steadily developed. In 1982, at a time when practically the entire economy was deeply mired in the crisis, the growth rate of this sector was still 6 percent.

In 1982, in the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, the index of industrial production declined by 3 percent, that is, at a rate two times higher than the average rate for the entire EEC. In Japan, the decline in production, although not as serious as in the United States and western Europe, was worse than in previous years. The output of the industrial sectors, such as the production of metals, petrochemicals and a number of industrial machine products, declined during the period that the economy was in crisis. Commenting on the state of Japan's economy, S. Okita, president of the Tokyo College of International Affairs, acknowledged that Japanese economic miracles were a thing of the past.

Deserving of attention is that this cyclical economic crisis even occurred within leading industrial sectors that are closely associated with scientific and technical advances. This was especially evident in the United States, the country that possesses the greatest scientific and technological potentials within the capitalist system.

From the standpoint of time, this economic crisis lasted for a full 3 years, 1 year longer than the 1974-1975 crisis. It began in the United States in late 1979, spilled over into western Europe in 1980 and then spread throughout the entire capitalist economic system. It was not until the end of 1982 that the crisis was considered over; however, the consequences of that crisis still persist.

The decline in production led to the bankruptcy of numerous enterprises. Examined from the perspective of the entire system of capitalist countries, mainly the developed capitalist countries, a number of enterprises that went bankrupt during the years of the crisis was as follows: (unit: 1,000 enterprises) 1979: 61.0; 1980: 71.6; 1981: 85.7; 1982: 102.1; and 1983: 115.4. The United States had the largest number of bankruptcies, followed by France, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and Great Britain.

Bankruptcies occurred not only among small corporations, but also among large corporations that had potentials in production, in science and technology and received active financial assistance from the state. Deserving of attention is that in contrast to the 1960's, the recent waves of bankruptcy have not led to the formation of huge conglomerates, but only to the formation of conglomerates of "average" size.



The utilization of machine and equipment capacity has declined. The United States and Great Britain are the countries with the lowest level of machine and equipment capacity utilization.

2. The 1980-1982 cyclical economic crisis broke out against the background of the continuing structural crisis.

Prior to the 1960's, the structural crisis only occurred within secondary industries, such as the textile industry, the coal mining industry, the shipbuilding industry, etc. However, the structural crisis that broke out in the 1970's occurred within industries of special importance to the entire capitalist economy, such as the energy industry, the raw materials industry, the finance-money industry, etc. Many economists maintain that the explosion of the crisis within these fields has been the primary factor in the breakdown of the current structure of social production. In other words, economic development cannot continue on the basis of the pre-existing structure.

Viewed from an overall perspective, the difficulties with energy and raw materials still have not been solved. The capitalist finance-money industry is in deep crisis. The environmental-ecological crisis has raised many difficult problems that demand solution by state monopolistic capitalism.

In fact, the oil crisis that broke out in the 1970's (1973-1979) have had many negative effects upon the most dynamic sectors of the economy. Rapidly rising energy prices have been one of the main causes of the rapid rise in the production costs within those sectors that use the most energy, such as the oil refining industry, the paper industry, the cement industry, the aluminum processing industry, the steel industry, the chemical industry, etc. At the same time, the prices of numerous products of many other economic sectors have also risen at a high rate. Many goods have become unusually expensive.

In late 1980, the prices of consumer goods in practically all of the major developed capitalist countries rose at "double digit" rates (with the exception of Japan). Among the member countries of the OECD, inflation reached 12.8 percent. Calculated by country, inflation reached 13.5 percent in the United States, 13.6 percent in France, 18 percent in Great Britain and 21.2 percent in Italy.

Amidst this situation, the inability of the working people to make regular, stable payments, which came about as a result of cuts in their real income made by the monopolistic capitalists, became one of the main factors in the decline in all personal consumption. This decline occurred in a host of countries, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Spain, Sweden (1981) and the United States (during many quarter of 1980 and 1981).

The crisis exacerbated the socio-economic antagonisms of capitalism. As production declined, unemployment spread on an increasingly large scale. Unemployment, which reached 12.8 million persons during the 1974-1975 economic crisis, reached 27.6 million persons in 1982 alone. Deserving of attention is the fact that unemployment has continued its strong rise even amidst economic

recovery. In 1983, the number of totally unemployed persons in the member countries of the OECD stood at 34 million.

According to 1982 statistics, Spain had the highest unemployment among the member countries of the OECD, 16 percent of that country's work force. In the Netherlands, Belgium and Great Britain, unemployment exceeded 12 percent. Unemployment was lower in Italy, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the other countries of western Europe. In the United States, unemployment stood at 10.8 percent of the work force at the end of the 4th quarter of 1982. In November 1981, when Reagan entered the White House, unemployment was 7.4 percent. However, according to data compiled by the American Federation of Labor, total unemployment in the United States is even higher: 15 million persons, 13.5 percent of the work force.

The mounting budget deficit and state debt are the most striking aspects of the shock waves that have rocked capitalist financial and monetary circles. The debt and budget deficit problem is typified by the United States. At the end of 1984, U.S. domestic debt stood at 1,200 billion dollars and U.S. foreign debt at 800 billion dollars. During the 1982-1983 physical year, the federal budget deficit was 195.2 billion dollars. These have been important factors in the disruption and increasing complexity of financial and monetary relations.

Environmental pollution resulting from unregulated business activities, unregulated for the sake of the profits of private monopolistic capitalists, is posing an increasingly large danger. Millions of tons of carbon dioxide are continuously being discharged into the air. Many major rivers have been seriously polluted by tens of millions of tons of chemical wastes discharged by the chemical industry. During the past 20 years, according to statistical data, nearly 30 million tons of sulphur, 30 to 38 million tons of nitrogen and 103 to 147 million tons of hydrocarbons have been discharged into the air in the United States. According to many economists, the prices that must be paid for this situation are, first, that a large portion of natural resources is wasted due to the failure to make rational use of discarded materials, second, the costs incurred in cleaning up the environment and, lastly, the harm to the health of humans. This proves that, today, the most essential conditions needed for the life of man, such as air, sources of water and so forth, are also being destroyed by the monopolistic capitalists. In recent years, announcing these actions, many intense struggles have been waged by the workers and laboring people of the developed capitalist countries demanding higher wages, the cleanup of the air and environment, etc.

3. The 1980-1982 cyclical economic crisis broke out at a time when the ruling circles in capitalist countries were further accelerating the militarization of the economy.

At the start of the 1980's, the arms race was accelerated by the imperialists at an unprecedented rate. Bellicose imperialist circles hope that, through the militarization of the economy and the arms race, they can impede the progress of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, weaken the socialist system and, on the other hand, have an impact upon production and business activity and reduce domestic unemployment. As a result, military

budgets were increased by unprecedented amounts in all NATO bloc countries and Japan (unit: billions of dollars):

Year	United States	France	Japan
1971	74.9	17	30
1980	146	26.7	9.8
1983	220.4	31.6	12.5

In 1981, Reagan launched an intense campaign in a vain attempt to increase U.S. strength. Programs to modernize nuclear weapons, produce the B-1 bomber, accelerate the militarization of space...gobbled up hundreds of billions of dollars. The militarization of the economy had many serious consequences: according to a job study organization in the United States, every 1 billion dollars spent on the military budget has caused 9,000 persons to lose their job. Therefore, some economists maintain that the excessively high military spending in the developed capitalist countries was an important contributing factor to the high rates of unemployment in those countries during the years of the recent crisis.

Rising military expenditures have also been the cause of the serious budget deficit that has existed throughout the early years of the 1980's in the United States and many countries of the NATO bloc and contributed to the constant instability that has existed in the financial and monetary relations among the capitalist countries.

#### 4. Many changes occurred in the stages of a cyclical crisis.

Compared to the 1974-1975 economic crisis, the stages of the 1980-1982 crisis were different in several respects. The stage of actual crisis and stagnation was prolonged. During the 1974-1975 crisis, the length of time that production declined within the member countries of the OECD was an average of seven quarters, eight quarters in the United States and seven quarters in the Federal Republic of Germany. However, in the 1980-1982 cyclical crisis, the decline lasted for an average of 10 quarters within the OECD, nearly 1.5 times longer, 15 quarters in the United States and 10 quarters in the Federal Republic of Germany.

According to many economists, the causes of this situation were closely associated with the visibly worsening conditions of the capitalist reproduction process. First, the rate of economic growth has slowed. Whereas the annual rate of growth of the gross national product in the developed capitalist countries was 4.5 percent and the rate of industrial growth was 5.4 percent during the period from 1971 to 1973, during the period from 1974 to 1979, the rate of growth of the gross national product was 2.4 percent and industrial production grew at a rate of 2.1 percent. Secondly, machine and equipment capacity has not been fully utilized. Thirdly, real capital formation and labor productivity have declined in practically all of the developed capitalist countries since the middle of the 1970's. The stage of recovery has been weak, lacking in uniformity and unstable. Prospects for a stage of prosperity are vague.

Even during the stage of recovery, many economists have predicted that a new economic crisis is possible in 1986.

## II. The Ineffectiveness of the Measures Taken To Combat the Crisis

In past years, state monopolistic capitalism mainly employed a "demand side" mechanism to regulate the economy with the aim of reducing the severity of the internal antagonisms of the capitalist economy, especially the increasing antagonism between the strong development of production forces and the narrow capitalist production relations. Tax cuts, wage increases, price controls, the expansion of the state owned sector, the expansion of state needs...were the measures taken by state monopolistic capitalism to regulate the economy. However, the outbreak of the 1974-1975 economic crisis showed the ineffectiveness of "demand side" regulation of the economy. Numerous maladies, such as inflation, recession and the budget deficient, which were continuous and increasing in severity, seemed incurable.

In recent years, in order to resolve the difficult economic problems being faced and in a vain attempt to find a way out of the crisis, state monopolistic capitalism in many of the developed capitalist countries has employed a comprehensive mechanism, the major features of which are basically the following three:

### 1. Strengthening the mechanisms by which the state monopolistic economy is regulated.

These activities have taken two directions: the first has been the "demand side" approach, or what is called the policy of regulating the economy through reforms. This style of regulation has been the dominant approach taken under the policies of France, Sweden and a number of other western European countries. It mainly entails trying to overcome the crisis and socio-economic difficulties by expanding the public sector of the economy...while making relatively strong use of direct measures to regulate economic activity and acceding to a number of demands of workers within certain limits, that is, providing that these demands do not harm the interests of the monopolistic capitalists.

The second approach, the "more rigid" of the two, has been the policy of regulating the economy from the "supply side," which western economists also call conservative economic policy. The United States and Great Britain typify this approach.

To end the stagnation in industrial production and restore a positive business atmosphere for private monopolistic capitalists, supporters of the "supply side" policy have called for less direct intervention by the state in the economy. Tax reform programs, programs to cut state spending...have been touted by ruling circles in the United States, Great Britain and a number of other countries.

### 2. Continued reform of the structure of the economy.

By the end of the 1970's, efforts to reform the structure of the economy were under way in practically all of the developed countries. The goal of the ruling circles has been to build, through these reforms, an economic structure that is suited to the new conditions surrounding the development of production forces in a vain attempt to achieve a more "moderate" and "stable" growth rate on the basis of raising labor productivity and increasing the returns from investment. The first element of this reform package has been the direct application of the achievements of science and technology in production and the second has been the continued renovation of the fixed assets of many processing industries. Due to increases in the prices of raw materials and fuels, the monopolistic capitalists in many countries have begun using new industrial processes with the aim of economizing on energy and modernizing those industries that consume much energy and many raw materials.

The third element of this reform package has been to look toward the developing countries. Facts have shown that the developing countries have been an important market for the surplus goods of the developed countries and that exports were one of the ways used to reduce surplus production in the capitalist countries during the period that the economy was in crisis.

In addition, the strategy of making minimum concessions, of tolerating the strategy of limited economic development of the developing countries under the control of the multi-national corporations and the policies of "priorities" and "preferences" have continued to be employed by ruling circles in many capitalist countries with a view toward transferring labor intensive industries that cause serious pollution to the developing countries and, in this way, drawing these countries into the sphere of imperialism and controlling them.

As a result, the 1980-1982 crisis had many negative effects upon the economies of the developing countries, especially those with close ties to the capitalist economy. A number of economists maintain that the decline in the demand for raw materials and energy within the developed capitalist countries during the crisis was a major contributing factor in the decline of the industrial output of the developing countries by 2 percent (1982).

### 3. Greater emphasis on "collective solutions."

It is not by accident that once each year since the middle of the 1970's, the heads of state of the seven developed capitalist countries have held a meeting.

The purpose of these meetings has been to develop and coordinate the policies of the major developed capitalist countries with a view toward solving the difficulties being encountered in their economic, trade, international finance and other relations.

At the very first meeting held in November 1975, the leaders of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Canada and Japan drafted a "crisis prevention" program designed to "revitalize" capitalism. Many bourgeois propagandists praised this program as "the first collective solution reached by the industrial democracies" since World War

II. Many points in the program, such as "being determined to end unemployment," "stable, permanent economic development" and so forth, were brought up again on many different occasions in the meetings that followed.

To bring relative stability to international financial and monetary relations, imperialist circles have also adopted a policy of increasing the effectiveness of the activities of such international organizations as the National Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Customs and Trade Organization.

The greatest limitation upon these collective solutions has been the serious conflict between national interests and the interests of the entire bloc. Many inequities are clearly evident in the economic policy of the developed capitalist countries. The policy of maintaining high interest rates on short-term credit in order to attract investments in the United States by foreign capitalists that has been pursued by the United States during the past several years, a policy which has caused and is continuing to cause the economies of many western European countries to "bleed," is a striking example.

The increasingly bitter trade war among the three centers, the United States, Japan and western Europe, that has been taking place during the first years of this decade is one of the main obstacles reducing the effectiveness of collective decisions.

Clearly, the course of the 1980-1982 economic crisis reflected the inability of state monopolistic capitalism to solve difficult socio-economic problems and reflected the growing antagonisms within the process of capitalist reproduction under capitalism's law of uneven economic and political development. Although the economy of the capitalist countries has recently been in a stage of recovery, many economists have predicted new recessions. And, these crisis prevention measures replete with antagonisms will make it difficult for capitalism to avoid even worse economic and social consequences.

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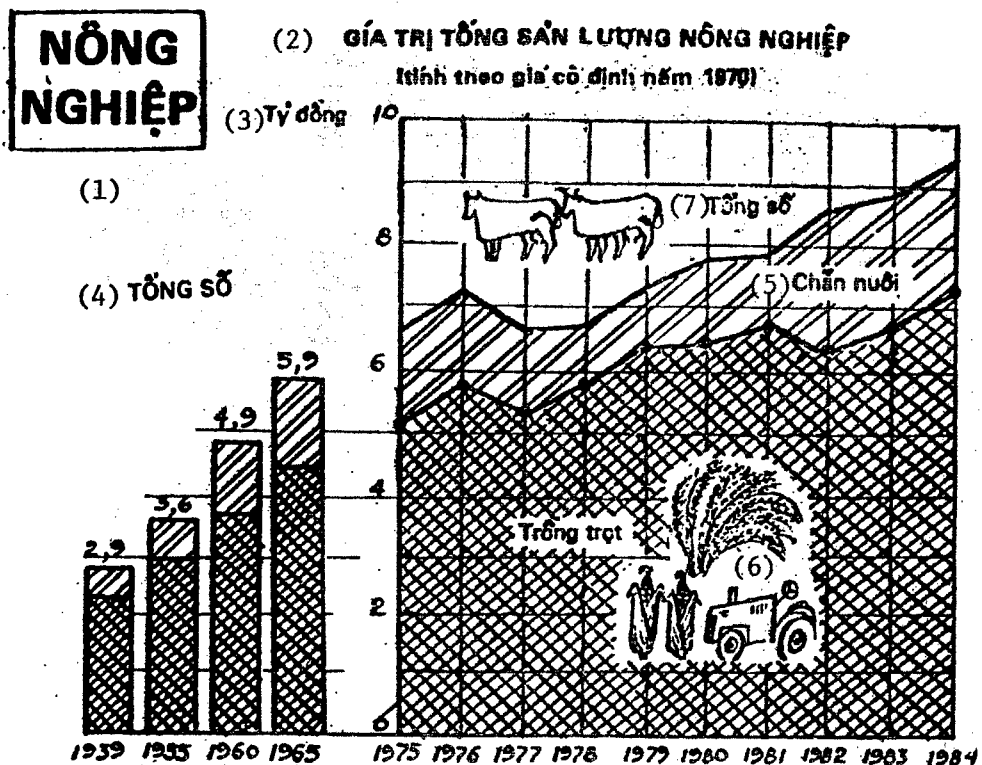
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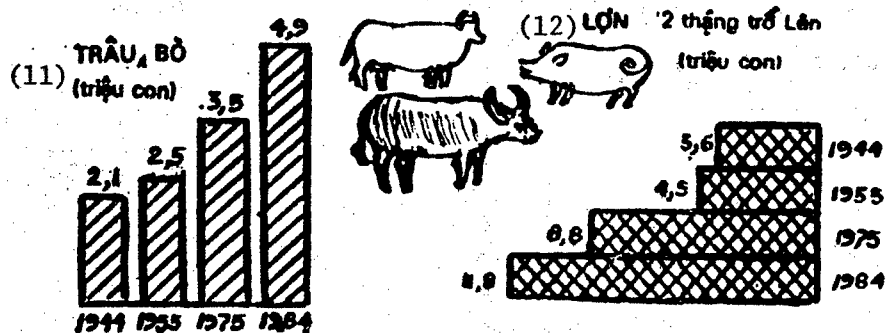
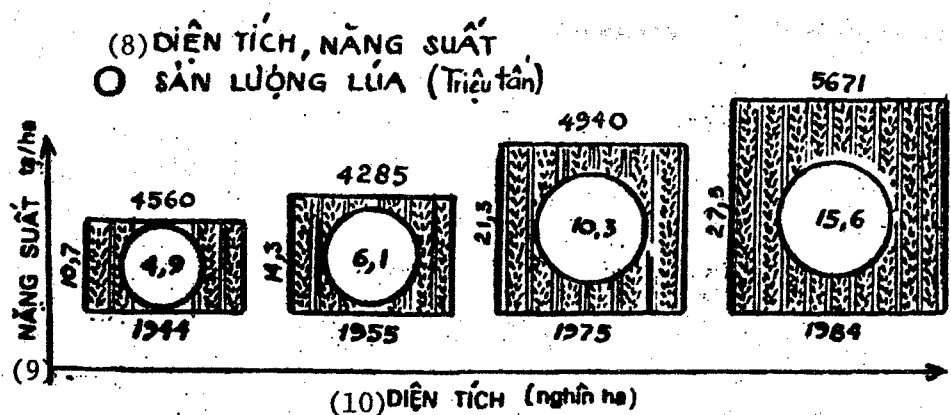
[Text] Key:

1. Agriculture
2. The Value of Total Agricultural Output (calculated at fixed 1970 prices)
3. Billions of dong
4. Total
5. Livestock production
6. Crop production
7. Total



Key [continued]

8. Rice output (millions of tons)
9. Rice yield, quintals/hectare
10. Area under rice cultivation (thousands of hectares)
11. Buffalo, cattle (millions of head)
12. Hogs 2 months of age or older (millions)



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